PART CCXXXVII. (VOL. XVIII.) NOVEMBER, 1889.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c &c

Edited by

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET, C.I.E.,
BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE,
CAPTAIN, BENGAL STAFF CORPS

AND

WILLIAM CROOKE,
BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE

CONTENTS.

PAGE

1 COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB, by Captain R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., M.R.A.S. 321

2 THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM UDAYPUR IN GWALIOR, by Professor F. KIELHORN, C.I.E. 341

3 FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA, No. III, by S. M. NATESA SASTRI, M.R.A.S. 345

NOTES AND QUERIES

PAGE

4 PERPETUAL LEASE IN MADRAS, by SUBBIAH WADIYAR 362

BOOK NOTICES

5 THE NICOBAR ISLANDS, by E. H. MAN 365

Plates:—

Map . . . *To face* p. 324

Two Plates of Coins to face pp. 336, 338 *will be issued with the Index Part*

BOMBAY:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

LONDON: TRÜBNER & CO. PARIS: E. LEROUX. BERLIN: A. ASHER & CO. NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & CO.

BOMBAY: EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.

1889.

[*All Rights Reserved.*]

Annual Subscription in advance, Rs. 20, or, including Postage, 36s., via Brindisi.

Subscribers are in arrears for Vols. I. to XIII. to the total amount of Rs. 401. It is specially requested that those outstandings may be cleared off without further delay.

N.B.—Subscriptions for the year 1886 (Vol. XV.) are overdue to the amount of Rs. 240, for 1887, Rs. 116, and for 1888, Rs. 163.

Subscribers in Europe are requested to pay their Subscriptions for 1888 to the Joint Proprietors' account, Chartered Mercantile Bank, 65, Old Broad St., London, E.C., giving notice of their having done so, and of Address, by card addressed to the Manager, Education Society's Press, Bombay. This arrangement will secure such Subscribers their copies being posted direct.

Contributors of Articles to this Journal will greatly oblige the Editors if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the Editors in entering instructions to the Press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proofs, &c. &c. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

Papers and correspondence for the Journal from contributors should be addressed to the EDITORS, care of the Education Society's Press, Bombay.

Remittances, correspondence relative to Subscriptions, and notices of change of address to be sent to—

The Superintendent,
Education Society's Press,
Bombay.

Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the *Indian Antiquary*.

REQUEST.—Dr. F. Knauer, Professor in the University of *Kiel* who is preparing an edition of the Mânava-Srauta-Sûtra and the Mânava-Gṛihya-Sûtra, asks the owners of Manuscripts (text and commentaries) to kindly lend him the same for use. The India Office Library will forward the MSS., which will be safely and promptly returned.

Published Monthly, Price 8 annas.

THE INDIAN TRAVELLER'S GUIDE, containing the Special Time and Fare Tables of all the Indian Railway Companies, Steam Boat and Dâk Companies, Bullock Trains and Transit Companies; the Routes between the principal towns of Northern, Central, and Western India, &c.

WITH A COLOURED MAP OF INDIA.

BOMBAY:

Printed and Published at the "Bombay Gazette" Steam Press.

Agents. *Bombay*, Watson & Co., Thacker & Co.; *Poona*, Treacher & Co., B. Phillips; *Deolalee*, Curseetjee Dossabhoy; *Calcutta*, Wyman & Co.; *Madras*, Higginbotham & Co; *Allahabad*, Kellner & Co. (Railway Station); *London*, G. Street, 30, Cornhill, Gordon and Gotch, St. Bride Street, Ludgate Circus, E.C.

ERRATA.

p. 268, Text line 15, *for* "ana danah[m]", *read* "ânadanah[m]".

pp. 277-278-279 *for* "An-Nasir-li-dîn Allah" *read* "An-Nâsir-li-dîn Allah" wherever the words occur.

pp. 277-8 *for* "Ch. D Fachu" *read* "Ch. D. Fachu" wherever the words occur.

p. 278 *b*, last two lines, *for* "Khalifas Mustafî B'illah, Mutta B'illah and Tâi-B'illah" *read* "Khalifas Mustakfî-B'illah, Muti-L'illah and Tâi-L'illah."

p. 279 *a*, line 13, *for* "from Al-Kasar" *read* "at Kasan"

p. 279 *b*, line 20, *for* "J. Gotwald" *read* "J. Gottwaldt"

p. 280 *a*, line 1, *for* "Miltaurovs" *read* "Melitaurovs."

p. 280 *a*, line 3, *for* "Miltaurov was court captain" *read* "Melitaurov was court chaplain."

p. 280 *a*, line 14 from bottom, *for* "Balabhar" *read* "Balawar."

p. 280 *a*, line 4 from bottom, for "*Wrestler*" read "*Hermit*."

p. 280 *b*, line 30, *for* "Taipna" *read* "Taifûr."

p. 281 *a*, line 12, *for* "Ahmad-Ibn-Ali-Karîm" *read* "Ahmad-Ibn-Abî-Karîm"

p. 281 *a*, line 21, *for* "worshipper of Nabigî" *read* "admirer of Nâbiga."

p. 281 *a*, line 22, *for* "Abu'l-Kabi-Muhammad-ibn al-Lais" *read* "Abu'r-Rabî-Muhammad-ibn-al-Lais."

p. 281, for "*mu'allah*" read "*mu'allaka*" wherever the word occurs.

p. 282 *b*, line 16 from bottom, *for* "Rudguzi" *read* "Rubguzi"

p 282 *b*, line 6 from bottom, *for* "Khozudem" *read* "Khojandî."

p. 282 *b*, line 4 from bottom for "*Ta'ash-Shah-nâma*" read "*Ta'ashnik-nâma*."

p. 283 *a*, line 4, for "*Majâlis-an-nafaris*" read "*Majâlis-an-nafais*."

p. 283 *a*, line 19, *for* "Hâjî Bakbâsh" *read* "Hâjî Baktâsh."

p. 283 *a*, line 22 from bottom, *for* "Ilderine Bayazid" *read* "Ilderim Bayazid."

p. 283 *a*, line 7, from bottom, for "*Wusrat-nâmah*" read "*Nusrat-nâmah*."

p. 283 *a*, line 15 from bottom, *for* "Mustafa Jalâlgâda" *read* "Mustafa Jalâlzâdâ."

p 284 *a*, line 19 from bottom, *for* "Abu-Obaid-al-Kârim-Ibn-Sallâm" *read* "Abu-Ubed-al-Qâsim-Ibn-Sallam."

p 284 *a*, line 16 from bottom, *for* "Mikhî" *read* "Makkî."

p. 284 *a*, line 15 from bottom, *for* "Rajab Isfahânî" *read* "Raghî Isfahânî."

WANTED a clean copy of the TEXT of the Siddhânta-Sirômani of Bhâskarâchârya, edited by Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri.—Please reply, stating the condition of the book and the price asked, to J F FLEET, Esq., to the address of the Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay

THE COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB.

BY CAPTAIN R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., M.R.A.S.

I. — GENERAL REMARKS.

THE coins which form the subject of this monograph, were collected mostly by myself in the Pañjāb about eight years ago, with the kindly personal assistance of the Chiefs of the Pañjāb Native States, one of whom has since died. These coins I had the pleasure of presenting to the British Museum. The remainder are taken from former presentations to the Museum, and I am indebted to the courtesy of the Keeper of the Coins for being enabled to represent them in the plates attached hereto. I am also specially indebted to Mr. Gruebor, of the Numismatic Department, for the trouble he has taken in having both the coins I collected and those previously presented to the Museum properly reproduced for me. In the detailed description attached to this paper the coins given by myself to the British Museum and those of other donors are carefully distinguished. There is, as far as I am aware, no other collection of these coins in existence.

Properly speaking, the Coins of the Modern Native Chiefs of the Pañjāb should include those of the Mahārājās of Lāhōr and of the Mahārājas of Jammūṅ and Kaśmīr. But the Sikh coinage is a study in itself, and so is the ancient coinage of Kaśmīr. This paper is therefore confined to the productions of the mints of the Chiefs of the Pañjāb, that have now, or have had in recent times, the right to issue coins of their own. These are the Mahārājās of Paṭiālā, the Rājās of Nābhā and Jīnd, the Sardārs of Kaiṭhal, and the Nawābs of Kōṭlā-Mālēr (more commonly called Mālēr-Kōṭlā). Of these the Mahārājās of Paṭiālā, the Rājās of Nābhā and Jīnd and the Sardārs of Kaiṭhal,[1] belonged to one great family of Chiefs known in the Pañjāb as the Phūlkīāṅ.

To the student of numismatics the coins of these chiefs have a special interest, as affording valuable examples of the principles governing the evolution of the coinage of partially civilized peoples. The theory of the evolution of coins, first made known by Mr. Evans[2] in his well-known work, has been applied with great acuteness and ability by Mr. Keary in his *Morphology of Coins* (1886) to Oriental coins. It is in support or criticism of its application to the coins of semi-barbarous peoples that the following pages will be found to be chiefly valuable.

Mr. Keary makes two remarks in his little book which the reader will do well to bear in mind throughout his perusal of this article. At page 9 he says: — "There is a peculiar sort of morphology (of coins) shown when a barbarous or semi-barbarous people, incapable of inaugurating or much modifying a coinage of its own, takes as a model the money of some other State and makes either imitations or reproductions of it in a descending order of degradation. Examples of this class take generally one of two forms: *a.* — If the nation is not very barbarous, it sometimes invents for itself a new type founded on the parent type, and adheres to that for a long succession of years. Such people are not artistic enough or original enough to produce variations of importance on this fixed type. *b.* — A much more barbarous people, who are incapable of either inventing any type for themselves or of copying correctly that which is before them, produce a series of successive degradations which are very curious and interesting to trace." At page 18 he further remarks: — "The local issues of different (Greek) cities may be regarded as a kind of token money, not acceptable except by weight outside a narrow area." How far the semi-barbarous coinage of the modern Native Chiefs of the Pañjāb bears out these observations the reader will be able to judge for himself.

In the year A.H. 1164, or A.D. 1751, being the fourth year of his reign, the famous Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (or Abdālī) made a raid into the Pañjāb and overran the greater part of it; and it is a common historical statement[3] in the Pañjāb, that in that year he granted to the

[1] As distant connections only. [2] *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864 [3] But see below, p. 325

chiefs of Paṭiâlâ, Nâbhâ, Jînd, and Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr the right to coin within their respective States. The now extinct State of the Sardârs of Kaiṭhal also seems to have acquired the right to use the same coinage within its territories, but how or when I have been unable to ascertain. Besides these the Sikh State of **Kapurthalâ** and the extraordinary adventurer, **George Thomas, Râjâ of Hansî**, are said to have each had an independent coinage, of which more anon.

Now the coins of Aḥmad Shâh bear a distinctive legend, as is well known. It runs thus :—

obverse حکم شد از قادر بیچون باحمد بادشاه

سکه زن برسیم و زر از اوج ماهي تا بماه

reverse سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب

The words and figures following the words جلوس and ضرب naturally vary with the year and place. In plate I., figure *a*, I, give a fine specimen of the full legend, bearing the date ۱۱۷۳, *i.e.*, A.H. 1173, (A.D. 1761), and the year of the reign 14, and showing the mint as دارالخلافه شاه جهان آباد that is, Dehlî.[4]

In the fourth year of his reign Aḥmad Shâh coined at Sarhand, better known as Sirhind, now a town in the Paṭiâlâ State. The exact form of his coin I do not know, but, for reasons given further on, it can be guessed from the impressions of the die given below, which is that now in use at Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr, and which I am able to introduce here through the kindness of the Khân Sâḥib, 'Inâyat 'Alî Khân, brother of the Nawâb of Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr.

پائی

بالا

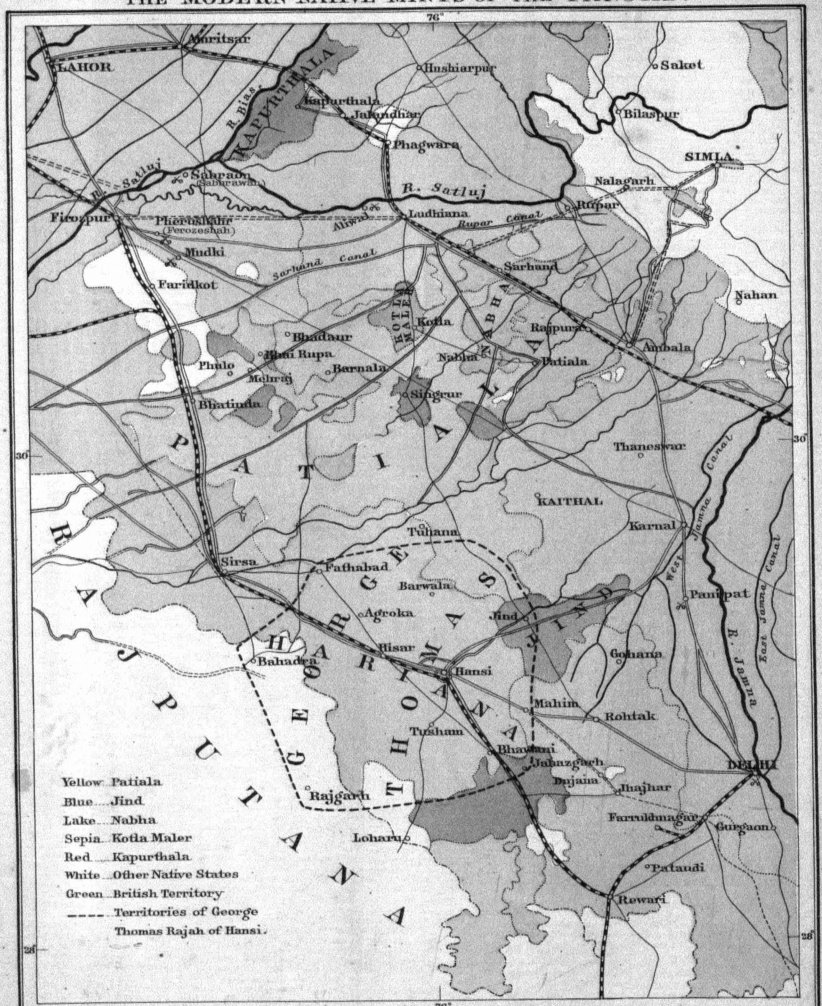
Now the point for the present argument is this : — **from that day, nearly 140 years ago, to this, the coins of all these States — Paṭiâlâ, Nâbhâ, Jînd, Kaiṭhal and Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr,** with the exception of *some* of the issues of the Nâbhâ mint, **have never changed either the legend, the date, or the mint.** The dies have been cut and re-cut over and over again, but no material change has ever taken place beyond adding, in some cases only, the mark or sign of the particular chief issuing the coin. To all outward appearance they are all — even those of a year ago — the coins of Aḥmad Shâh minted in the fourth year of his reign (A.D. 1751)! Nâbhâ alone has had the originality to vary the type to a limited extent, using for that purpose, of later years, the ordinary legend of the Sikh coins of the late Mahârâjâs of Lâhôr. The issues of the Sardârs of Kaiṭhal show a falling off in the artistic capacity of the moneyers of this distinctly "Minor State" in comparison with the others above noticed, that will be found to be specially valuable and interesting in the present connection.

The History of the modern Native States of the Pañjâb, being of so recent a character, is to a certain extent well known[5] and is therefore of much value as evidence for

[4] This is a large thin gold coin which belongs to the British Museum, to the authorities of which I am indebted for the reproduction. It may not be a real coin at all, but one of those medals that used to be struck in India to be thrown amongst the populace on special occasions, or it may have been struck in commemoration of the capture of Dehlî in that year, for 1173 A.H. was the year of the notorious massacre he caused to be committed there.

[5] I say to a "certain extent" advisedly, for it is much more obscure than one would suppose possible.

MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE MODERN NATIVE MINTS OF THE PANJAB.



R. C. Temple, del.

Stanford's Geogl. Estab.

or against the theories of Messrs. Evans and Keary, — for we now have the advantage of studying a semi-barbarous coinage of precisely the same nature as that which has flourished throughout the East any time these thousand years, side by side with otherwise verifiable historical facts regarding the coiners.

II. HISTORY.

The Phûlkiân family of chiefs are Siddhu Jaṭṭs and claim, as is usual in the Paṅjâb, among persons of importance, a Râjpût origin: — in this case from Jaisal, the founder of Jaisalmêr in the twelfth century A.D. The descent from Jaisal through Siddhu, the eponymous founder of this now great clan of the Paṅjâbî Jaṭṭs, is legendary in the extreme.[6] However, whatever may have been their origin, the ancestors of the Phûlkiân house must have been people of much consideration, for in A.D. 1526 the emperor Bâbar created the son of Saṅghar, the head of the family, a Chaudharî[7] for services rendered in that year by his father at the battle of Pânîpat, where he was killed. The headship or *chaudharîyat* thus won was confirmed by the emperor Humâyûn on Sanghar's grandson in A.D. 1554, and a hundred years later we find Sanghar's descendant Phûl, the direct founder of the Phûlkiân, succeeding his father in the *chaudharîyat* about A.D. 1618, and dying as the great Chaudhari Phûl in 1652.[8] Phûl left six sons — the two eldest of whom we may call the major and the rest the minor sons. From the two major sons, Tilôkhâ and Râmâ, spring the present great chiefs of the Siddhu Jaṭṭs, and from the rest the Jîndân Sardârs and what are called the Laudgharîâ, or "Minor Branch," Sardârs. All are personages of high standing in the Paṅjâb. From Tilôkhâ, who succeeded to the *chaudharîyat*, come the Râjas of Nâbhâ and Jînd, and from Râmâ the Mahârâjas of Paṭiâlâ, the Sardârs of Bhadaur (absorbed by Paṭiâlâ) and the Malaudh families. At the present day they rank as follows, Paṭiâla, Jînd, Nâbhâ, Bhâdaur, Malaudh; — but by descent their seniority is Nâbhâ, Jînd, Bhadaur, Paṭiâlâ, Malaudh, while their originally absolute equality is proved by the fact that the village of Bhâî Rûpâ, founded by Tilôkhâ and Râmâ jointly, is still owned in equal shares by all the above chiefs. There are seventeen great Sikh families in all sprung from Chaudharî Phûl, and of these three have become "royal" and have still the right to issue their own coinage. It is with these three, Paṭiâlâ, Jînd and Nâbhâ, that we have now to do.

At the present day by far the most powerful of these families is that of Paṭiâlâ, and we will take it first into consideration. Râmâ, the second son of Phûl as above described, carved out for himself by the sword, after the manner of the time, a small semi-independent territory, and after a turbulent career, was murdered in extreme old age in A.D. 1714. Some 15 years later (A.D. 1729) on the death of his second son, Sabhâ, his third son, Âlhâ Siṅgh, came into possession of Râmâ's residence and petty principality of Hôdhânâ; the eldest son, Dûnâ, having obtained another estate, now held by his descendant, the Sardâr 'Atar Siṅgh of Bhadaur From this small beginning, to which he added certain other little territories won by the sword, Alhâ Siṅgh, in the course of a warlike career, before his death in A.D. 1765, had founded Paṭiâlâ Town and State, had been a prisoner of Ahmad Shâh (in 1762), had then been petted by that monarch, receiving from the Afghân the title of Râjâ (1762), had next destroyed and annexed the great Muhammadan provincial capital of Sarhand or Sirhind,[9] and had finally been created chief of the whole of his district (*chalka*) by Ahmad Shâh. The right to coin given by Ahmad Shâh to the Phûlkiân States was therefore clearly given in his time and the coins depicted

---

[6] Sir Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Paṅjâb*, p. 9, gives 21 generations between Saṅghar (*ob* 1526) and Jaisal (*ob.* 1149), which is an apparent impossibility, and at p. 3 there is a legend to account for the birth of Siddhu in "as Râjpût's house."

[7] Chief local revenue authority: always chosen from among the local magnates.

[8] It is to be observed that in the genealogy above alluded to we again get 6 generations in 100 years between Saṅghar and Phûl, whose dates are admitted by the tribe to be vague, and only 8 generations in over 200 years between Chaudhari Phûl and the present Mahârâjâ of Paṭiâlâ, when dates have been accurately recorded.

[9] Sarhand سرهند is the proper spelling of this word on the coins and in MSS., not سهرند "Sahrind" as Mr. Rodgers states, *J. A. S. B.*, Part I., Vol. LIV., p. 73.

in figs. 1 and 2 are universally attributed by the local bankers (*mahâjan, Srâf*) to him, his mark being the *kalghî*, or aigrette plume.[10]

Âlhâ Siṅgh was succeeded by his grandson, **Amar Siṅgh,** after a struggle for the chiefship with his elder half-brother Himmat Siṅgh, the offspring of an irregular marriage, known in the Pañjâb as the *karêwâ*, and which is in fact the levirate. This chief reigned till 1781 and was in his turn petted by Aḥmad Shâh, during the latter's last irruption into India in 1767, being given the title of Râjâ-i-Râjgân Bahâdur in addition to that of Râjâ already conferred on his grandfather. Like Âlhâ Siṅgh he was a great soldier, and made Paṭiâlâ the most powerful of the Cis-Satluj states. He is represented in the coins by fig. 3; his mark being like that of Âlhâ Siṅgh, the *kalghî*.[11]

He was succeeded by **Saḥib Siṅgh,** his son, then but six years old, who reigned till 1813. This chief, who was more or less a madman, injured his State almost as much as his predecessors had improved it, and although he secured the title of Mahârâjâ from the Dehlî Emperor, Akbar II., in 1810, he left Paṭiâla in such a condition that no one respected its authority. His days saw the rise of Rañjît Siṅgh of Lâhôr, and his court was much concerned in the diplomatic struggles between that great ruler and the British Government, in the course of which it became entirely subservient to the latter. Sâḥib Siṅgh's coinage is represented in fig. 4; his mark being the same as his predecessor's.[12]

Sâḥib Siṅgh's successor was his son **Karm Siṅgh,** who reigned on till 1845, his last act in joining the British against the Lâhôr Government on the outbreak of hostilities doing much towards wiping out the injury done to his State by his wild and imbecile predecessor. He did not, however, live to reap the reward of his loyalty, for he died on 23rd Dec. 1845, the day after the battle of Phêrûshahr (Ferozeshah). His coin is shown in figs. 5 and 6, the special mark being a *saif* or two-handed sword.[13]

The next chief was **Narindar Siṅgh,** the son of Karm Siṅgh, who died in 1862, after doing as much for his State as the ablest of his predecessors had done, and whose comparatively loyal action in the Sikh War and whole-hearted loyalty in the Mutiny enlarged its borders to their present extent. His coin is shown in fig. 7 with a spear-head as his special mark.[14]

Narindar Siṅgh was succeeded by his son, **Mahindar Siṅgh,** who did nothing remarkable during his 14 years of rule up to his death in 1876. His coin is depicted in fig. 9 with a halberd head for the distinguishing sign.[15]

Râjindar Siṅgh, the son of Mahindar Siṅgh, is the present Mahârâjâ of Paṭiâlâ, to whose kindness, through his Minister — for he was a small boy when I procured the collection — the bulk of the Paṭiâlâ coins reproduced in the plate attached to this paper are due. His peculiar sign is the well-known *kaṭâr* or dagger of India. His coin is represented in figs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14. No 14, a gold coin, was specially struck for me on the occasion of my visit to the Paṭiâlâ mint in 1884. In this connection I should draw attention to a curious coin represented by Mr. Rodgers as fig. 17, Plate II., of his *Coins of Aḥmad Shâh Abdâlî*, in Vol. LIV., Part I., (1885), of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. It is reproduced here for reference.

169·7 17

Rodgers's Coin of Râjindar Siṅgh of Paṭiâlâ.

[10] But see *post*, pp. 325, 335, 336.

[11] Griffin, *op. cit.* p. 286, seems to argue that Amar Siṅgh was the first Paṭiâlâ Râjâ to use Aḥmad Shâh's coins but I hardly think this is likely under the circumstances and it is against the testimony of the local bankers.

[12] But see *post*, pp. 325, 336.

[13] But see *post*, pp. 325, 336.

[14] But see *post*, pp. 335, 336.

[15] But see *post*, pp. 325, 336.

At p. 75, in describing it he calls it "a modern Paṭiâlâ rupee presented to me by the Foreign Minister of the State." It is, however, doubtful whether any such coin was ever current, as it is much larger and must be very much thinner than the regular Paṭiâlâ rupee. Most likely the Minister had a medal struck for him exhibiting the whole die or nearly all of it. Its chief value is that it gives the whole legend for all practical purposes.[16]

We have therefore before us, as regards the Paṭiâlâ State, a specimen of the coinage of each ruler that has had the right to coin in his own name, or rather on his own account, and so can trace the coins from generation to generation. These rulers reigned as follows:—

Râjâ Âlhâ Siṅgh A.D. 1729-1765	36 years.
Râjâ Amar Siṅgh 1765-1781	16 years.
Mahârâjâ Sâhib Siṅgh 1781-1813	32 years.
Mahârâjâ Karm Siṅgh 1813-1845	32 years.
Mahârâjâ Narindar Siṅgh 1845-1862	17 years.
Mahârâjâ Mahindar Siṅgh 1862-1876	14 years.
Mahârâjâ Râjindar Siṅgh 1876 to date.....	——

I think the fair inference to be drawn from these coins is that in the 140 years during which they have been issued no material change has taken place in the artistic merit of the die-cutters.

Another interesting result from the study of this set of coins is that, although all of them are modern and many of them quite recent, there is a conflict of competent opinion as to which ruler the various types are to be assigned. This shows how very uncertain and difficult is accurate enquiry into the historical facts connected with semi-barbarous oriental peoples.

Griffin, *op. cit.* (p. 286, footnote), quoting official documents, says that Amar Siṅgh established the Paṭiâlâ mint and was the first to coin rupees: — "in fact in another place in the Pâtiâlâ Reports *Saṅvat* 1820 (A.D 1763) is mentioned as the year." But Amar Siṅgh did not succeed till 1765. And though it is quite possible that in minting the first coin, an old coin (*i.e.* of the year 4) and not a current coin (*i.e.* of the year 14 or 16) of Aḥmad Shah was taken as the sample, yet the Paṭiâlâ and indeed all the Pañjâb Rupees bear the date جلوس ۴ or the year 4, *i.e.*, A.D. 1751. Either date, 1751 or 1763, falls within Âlhâ Siṅgh's reign. So I agree with the native bankers in saying that Âlhâ Siṅgh initiated the currency.

Again says Griffin: — "Mahârâjâ Amar Siṅgh's rupee is distinguished by the representation of a *kalghî* (small aigrette plume); Mahârâjâ Sâhib Siṅgh by that of a *saif* (or two-edged sword); Mahârâjâ Karm Siṅgh had a *shamshêr* (bent sabre) on his coin; Mahârâjâ Narindar Siṅgh's coin had a *kaṭṭâ* (or straight sword) as his distinguishing mark. The present Mahârâjâ's rupee is distinguished by a dagger." At Paṭiâlâ I found that the officials knew very little, but that the bankers knew a great deal, and traditionally knew to whom to assign the various rupees at once. Their statements were that Alhâ Siṅgh, Amar Siṅgh, Sâhib Siṅgh all used the *kalghî*, Karm Siṅgh the *saif*, Narindar Siṅgh a spear-head, Mahindar Siṅgh, (the "present Mahârâjâ" of Griffin,) a halberd-head, and Râjindar Siṅgh, subsequent to the date of Griffin's book, a dagger. It seems to me to be hardly possible that the bankers could err on so recent a coinage as that of Mahindar Siṅgh and Narindar Siṅgh when confronted with it, and I have preferred their statements, as given to me direct, to those of the books.

The next set of coins on the plate belongs to the **Rajas of Jind**, whose history we will now examine. **Tilôkhâ**, the eldest son of Phûl, had two sons, Gurdittâ and **Sukchain**, from the former of whom sprang the Râjâs of Nâbhâ and from the latter the **Rajas of Jind**.

[16] Mr. Rodgers gives a hand-drawn illustration, which may not be quite correct. After the word سکہ and above the word زر on the obverse is an inexplicable date ۷۲. This might mean A. H. 1272 which = A.D. 1855-6, or St. 1872 which = A.D. 1815, or Saka St 1772 (very unlikely) which = A.D. 1850. All are impossible dates for Râjindar Siṅgh, who came to the throne in 1876. Perhaps we should read ۳۲ for ۷۲, taking ۷ to be a misreading for the latter portion of ۳, which would make the date St. 1932 = A. H. 1292 = A.D. 1875-6.

Sukchain died in 1751 without doing anything remarkable, leaving three sons — Alam Singh who died in 1764, **Gajpat Singh**, the founder of the Jind State, and Bulâkî Singh, the founder of the Dilâlpuriâ family. Alam Singh was a good soldier and took part in the capture of Sarhand already mentioned, getting a large accession of territory in consequence. But he died childless a year or so afterwards, Gajpat Singh succeeding to his estates. Gajpat Singh was a remarkable man and a prominent figure in those troublous times. Like all the Sikh chiefs of the day he underwent many ups and downs, alternately fighting and serving the feeble Court of Dehli, being sometimes its prisoner, sometimes its petted official, and sometimes its open foe. In 1772 he received the title of Râjâ from the Emperor Shâh 'Alam and according to Jind History began to coin as an independent prince in that year. If this be correct — and it would seem to be so — his coinage and that of his State is exceedingly interesting, as showing that he actually borrowed the die in use in the Paṭiâlâ State in its entirety, although it showed Ahmad Shâh to be suzerain, whereas his own suzerain was Shâh 'Alam. Ordinarily, of course, if he borrowed a coinage at all it would have been that of Shâh 'Alam.[17] Gajpat Singh died in 1786 and was succeeded by his son, Bhâg Singh. His coin is shown in fig. 15.

Bhâg Singh was also a prominent ruler and had a long reign, dying in 1819. He was distinguished as being the first Sikh Chief to seek an alliance with the British Government. This was in 1803. He was also the uncle, but hardly the friend, of the great Ranjît Singh of Lâhôr, whose mother, the ill-starred Bîbî Râj Kaûwar, was his sister. He did much for his State, though his later years were clouded by illness and family troubles. He is represented by figs. 17 and 18, his coins being peculiar in having the reverse quite blank.

Bhâg Singh was succeeded by his son **Fatḥ Singh**, who had a short and uneventful reign, dying in 1822. I have no specimen of his coin.

He was succeeded by his son, **Saṅgat Singh**, an extravagant debauchee, who thoroughly misgoverned his State and died childless in 1834. His coin is that shown in fig. 16.

On the death of Saṅgat Singh, under Sikh law the state lapsed to its suzerain, the British Government; but after some consideration the collateral heir, **Sarûp Singh**, was allowed to succeed to the major portion of it. A fine and gallant soldier, a just and honest man, a truly loyal feudatory of the British Crown, — doing signal service in the Mutiny, — he greatly increased the importance and prestige of his State during his long and prosperous reign. He died in 1864. His coin is represented in fig. 21.

His successor, **Raghbîr Singh**, who died as lately as 1885, was worthy of his illustrious father. It is to him that I owe the two specimens of his coinage given in figs. 19 and 20.

---

[17] As a commentary on the above and on the fact of *all* the Paṭiâlâ coins even to the present day purporting to acknowledge the suzerainty of Ahmad Shâh, I may here quote the following remarks regarding the Jâypûr State coinage, made by me in *Panjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. II., note No. 695.

"A quantity of gold *mohars* of the Jâypûr Râjâs that lately (1883) passed through my hands, exhibited that numismatic falsification of history which appears to be the rule in the modern coins of the petty States of India.

All the Jâypûr specimens bore the name of Muhammad Bahâdur Shâh, the last Mughal Emperor of Dehli, dethroned by the English in 1857 A.D., and they exhibited *every* year of his reign from 1 to 19, and some had in addition the *Saṁvat* year clearly legible, it being added in intention to every coin. The die, as usual, had been larger than the coin, but from the whole collection the legend was legible in full, being the same in each case, except that the coin of the year 1 had سنه ۱ in full, instead of merely the date in figures. It ran thus :—

obverse, سکه مبارک ۱۲۶۳ بادشاه غازی محمد بهادر شاه

reverse, ضرب سوائی جاي پور ۱۰ سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس

These dates correspond exactly to facts, for Bahâdur Shâh succeeded in 1837, so that his year 10 is 1847, which is also A.H. 1263. The coin of the year 19 is interesting as being one of the very last coins struck under the Mughal Dynasty. [It afterwards passed into the collection of the late Mr. Gibbs].

Those coins then clearly show Bahâdur Shâh as suzerain of the Jâypûr Râjâs, but such was never the fact. The British Government took over Jâypûr as suzerain in 1818, vigorously asserted its rights in 1835, when the Râjâ Mahâ'al Sen, in whose time all these coins were struck, came to the throne, and especially interfered in the management of the State until 1857."

Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, 1834, Part I., pp. 2 to 4, may be usefully read in connection with the above remarks.

The coins therefore of the Jind State show those of rulers who reigned as follows:—

Râjâ Gajpat Siṅgh, A.D. 1764-1786	.....	22 years.
Râjâ Bhâg Siṅgh „ 1786-1819	.....	33 years.
[Râjâ Fatḥ Siṅgh „ 1819-1822	.....	3 years.][18]
Râjâ Saṅgat Siṅgh „ 1822-1834	.....	12 years.
Râjâ Sarûp Siṅgh „ 1834-1864	.....	30 years.
Râjâ Raghbîr Siṅgh „ 1864-1885	.....	21 years.
Râjâ Ranbîr Siṅgh „ 1885 to date.		

I think the same inference may be drawn from this set as from that given of the Mahârâjâs of Paṭiâlâ — that the type has not materially changed throughout 120 years.

We must pass on to the history of the owners of the next set of coins shown in figs. 22 to 26, *viz.*, the **Sardârs**, or more popularly, the **Bhâis of Kaiṭhal**. The State is now extinct, and I have not found it possible to refer the individual coins to particular rulers, though distinctions were apparently made between their issues.

The Kaiṭhal family traces its descent direct from the eldest son of Siddhu, whereas the Phûlkîân descent springs from the second son. Its connection with the Phûlkîân Râjâs is therefore a very distant one, but it has always been recognized, and a short time before the State lapsed to the British Crown under the Sikh law of inheritance, the Bhâis of Kaiṭhal were most important chiefs; — the last, Bhâî Udai Siṅgh, being received at a Governor General's Darbâr in 1828, as of equal rank with, and senior to, the Râjâs of Jind and Nâbhâ.[19] The loss of their State to the family under the operation of the law was directly due to the action of its own representatives; for on the death of Saṅgat Siṅgh of Jind in 1834, as above described, without heirs, a plain opportunity was given by the British Government to the principal Sikh Chiefs to choose between the payment of a fixed tribute, or the existing freedom from payment coupled with the chance of lapses to Government on the failure of direct heirs. The chiefs finally "preferred the easy terms which they enjoyed in the present to a more secure future which involved some present sacrifice." The result was the almost immediate lapse of a part of Jind and the total lapse of Kaiṭhal within nine years.[20] The folly of the decision of the chiefs becomes the more apparent when it is considered that failure of direct heirs has always been a common occurrence in great Sikh families, owing to the intemperance and private vices so frequent, at any rate at that time, among them.

The founder of the Kaiṭhal Chiefship was **Bhâî Gurbakhsh Siṅgh**, friend and contemporary of Râjâ Âlâ Siṅgh of Paṭiâlâ (1729-1765). He was succeeded by his fourth son, **Bhâî Dêsû Siṅgh**, who actually conquered Kaiṭhal town from some Afghân Chiefs in 1767, and afterwards much enlarged his borders. He died in 1781, and was practically succeeded by his second son, **Bhâî Lâl Siṅgh**, after the latter had murdered the heir, his elder brother, **Bhâî Bahâl Siṅgh**. An able, utterly untrustworthy, violent and unscrupulous man, he greatly enlarged his estate in those troubled times, and became the most powerful Cis-Satluj Chief after Paṭiâlâ. He died an old man in 1819, and was succeeded by his eldest son, **Bhâî Partâb Siṅgh**, and then in 1824 by his younger son, **Bhâî Udai Siṅgh**, a prominent figure in his day, who died childless in 1843. Upon this all but an insignificant part of the State became British territory.[21]

The Bhâis of Kaiṭhal therefore ruled as follows[22]:—

Bhâî Dêsû Siṅgh, A.D. 1767-1781	.....	14 years.
Bhâî Bahâl Siṅgh, 1781-1781	.....	——
Bhâî Lâl Siṅgh, 1781-1819	.....	38 years.
Bhâî Partâb Siṅgh, 1819-1824	.....	5 years.
Bhâî Udai Siṅgh, 1824-1843	.....	19 years.

[18] No coin of this Râjâ has been found. [19] Griffin, *op. cit.* p. 370 n. [20] Griffin, *op. cit.* p. 330.

[21] Bhâî is the title of a Sikh saint or holy man, and is used as a prefix by his descendants. The Kaiṭhal Chiefs got their title of Bhâî from Bhâî Râmdîâl, the father of Gurbakhsh Siṅgh, a personage of great sanctity in his time.

[22] As an instance of the great difficulty of dates when writing of such histories as this, I may say that Ibbetson's *Gazetteer of the Karnal District*, pp. 38-40, differs somewhat from Griffin's *Râjâs of the Panjâb*, pp. 43-49, and that both authors worked on the best original sources of information procurable on the spot.

The coins of these chiefs are very rough but interesting, as showing a falling off in artistic merit from those of the surrounding Rājās. They are all of one type, but the "minor marks" differ considerably.[23]

We must now turn to the history of the **Afghāns of Kōṭlā-Mālēr**, because their coins follow the general type of those of the chiefs already discussed, although, properly speaking, the history of the Phūlkiān State of Nābhā should come next.

The history of Kōṭlā-Mālēr has been written in a useful little book—*A Description of the Principal Kōṭlā Afghāns*, by Khānṣāhib 'Ināyat 'Alī Khān of Mālēr-Kōṭlā, (Lahore, "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1882.) The Khānṣāhib is the brother of the present Nawāb Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān, and the book was kindly sent to me by him. It is somewhat confused, but we may take it to be the best public information on the subject in existence.

The founder of the Kōṭlā family at Mālēr was **Shēkh Sadr Jahān, a Sarwānī Afghān**, who was a Sūfī saint of much celebrity in his time, and who came into prominence from his connection with **Sultān Bahlōl Lōdī**. This ruler, in fulfilment, it is said, of a vow, gave him a daughter in marriage in 1454 A.D. with, of course, a suitable dowry in the shape of land. After this the Shēkh contracted a second wealthy marriage into the family of a local magnate. **He left three sons**—Ḥasan, 'Īsā and Mūsā. Ḥasan by the Lōdī Princess, and 'Īsā and Mūsā by the local lady. **The present Kōṭlā-Mālēr family is descended from 'Īsā**, the descendants of Ḥasan being nowadays merely the *mujawwirs*, or attendants at the shrine of Sadr Jahān.

Originally the property acquired by Sadr Jahān was equally divided amongst his sons, and this gave rise to a pernicious custom which was, that **every scion of the house got his own share of the State, with full rights, fiscal, judicial and administrative over it**, the eldest living member being the Ra'īs or Chief. The Chief was thus really only *primus inter pares*, and the State never had much power in consequence. **The rule of primogeniture as regards the chiefship was introduced** in course of time **through the action of the British Government**, but the rights of sovereignty were not vested in the Chief alone until quite recently. Much of the revenue of the State is still split up amongst the collaterals of the Chief.

The fifth in descent from Sadr Jahān, **Bazīd Khān**, was the first to considerably enlarge the family estates, and **founded Kōṭlā, near Malēr**, in 1657. His grandson, **Shēr Muḥammad Khān**, was a prominent general of his time, and in his days began that incessant fight with the Sikhs, under Gurū Tēgh Bahādur and Gobind Siṅgh, which lasted up to quite modern times and almost wiped out the State of Kōṭlā-Mālēr. He did not, however, suffer much himself, and died in 1712, after converting the State into one of some importance. The next Ra'īs was his son, **Ghulām Ḥussain Khān**, a timid man, and on his death his sons were excluded from the chiefship for what was considered to be pusillanimity. His successor was his brother, **Jamāl Khān**, a great chief in his day and the **ancestor of all the present Kōṭlā Afghāns of any importance.**

On the death of Jamāl Khān, the principality was split up into five sections among his five sons, of whom the eldest, **Bhīkan Khān**, became Ra'īs under the law above explained. He seems to have been a temporizer and to have been a friend of the Sikhs and **Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī** alternately. From the latter he **received the right to coin in his own name**, and was killed by the former in 1763. I have no specimen of his coin unfortunately.

Bhīkan Khān left two sons, Wazīr Khān, and Fatḥ Khān, but his brother, **Bahādur Khān**, succeeded under the local law of seniority. I have no specimens of his coin.

Bahādur Khān also left two sons, Himmat Khān and Dalīl Khān, but again the chiefship went to the next eldest brother, **'Umr Khān**. His coin is shown in figs. 27 and 28, being the best from an artistic point of view of the whole series.

[23] *See post*, pp. 337, 338.

Asadu'llah Khân, the fourth brother, next became Rá'ís and lived amicably with his neighbours until his death in 1782. His coin is represented in fig. 29.

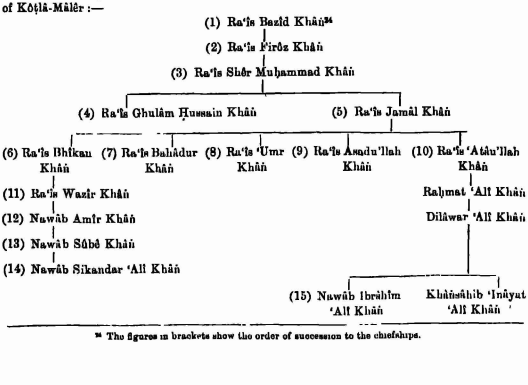
'Atáu'llah Khân, the last of the five sons of Jamâl Khân, succeeded him. He lived in troublous times and practically lost his State to that arch-devourer, Ranjît Singh of Lâhôr, but it was restored him in part under British protection by Sir David Ochterlony. He died in 1809, leaving three sons, Raḥmat 'Alî Khân, Fazal 'Alî Khân and Imâm 'Alî Khân, but the family law of seniority made the title of Ra'ís revert to **Wazîr Khân**, the eldest son of Bhîkan Khân. This was the last time it was applied, for the British Government now stepped in, and no doubt taking advantage of the fact that Wazîr Khân happened to be the eldest son of the eldest son directed that the law of primogeniture should apply in future. I have no coin of 'Atáu'llah Khân. Wazîr Khân led an uneventful life, dying in 1821. I have no specimen of his coin.

He was succeeded by his son, **Amîr Khân**, and was the last to bear the title of Ra'ís, for the British Government conferred on him the title of Nawâb. He died in 1845 (?). Three specimens of his coins are figured in the plate, Nos. 30, 31, 32.

His son was **Maḥbûb 'Alî Khân**, better known as **Sûbê Khân**. Like his Sikh neighbours, he was on our side in the Mutiny and died in 1859. His coin is shown in fig. 34.

His son was **Sikandar 'Alî Khân**, who is said to have been an hermaphrodite and seems to have spent all his time in quarrelling with his relatives. He was credited with two sons, Ghaus Muḥammâd Khân and Roshan 'Alî Khân, who both died early and so saved the dispute as to legitimacy, which was contemplated, had they outlived their reputed father. He died in 1871, and on his death there was a dispute as to the succession, which was decided in favour of the present ruler, **Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân**, the eldest surviving descendant of 'Atáu'llah Khân. Advantage was taken of this decision to make the holder of the title of Nawâb, already made hereditary by strict primogeniture, the head of the State in every way, instead of allowing his collaterals to exercise independent powers within their own shares of the family possessions. Fig. 33 represents the coin of Sikandar 'Alî Khân, and figs. 35 and 36 that of Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân.

The following table may help to explain the complicated succession of Ra'ises and Nawâbs of Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr :—



[24] The figures in brackets show the order of succession to the chiefships.

As regards the coins of these chiefs they extend over the following reigns:—

[Ra'is Bhîkan Khân	A.D. 1761-1763	reigned	2 years.][35]
[Ra'is Bahâdur Khân	1763-1768	,,	5 years.]
Ra'is 'Umr Khân	1768-1778	,,	10 years.
Ra'is Asadu'llah Khân	1778-1782	,,	4 years.
[Ra'is 'Atâu'llah Khân	1782-1809	,,	27 years.]
[Ra'is Wazîr Khân	1809-1821	,,	12 years.]
Nawâb Amîr Khân	1821-1845	,,	24 years.
Nawâb Sûbê Khân	1845-1859	,,	14 years.
Nawâb Sikandar 'Alî Khân	1859-1871	,,	12 years.
Nawâb Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân	1871	to present time.	

We have no coins of the chiefs before 'Umr Khân; but from his time to the present, about 100 years, we find no great difference in type, except that his coin, *i.e.* the oldest coin, is the best cut of all.

We must now turn to the last set of coins on the plate, those of the **Rajas of Nâbhâ.** As above explained these chiefs are sprung from **Gurditta**, the eldest son of Tilôkhâ, the eldest son of Phûl. He founded Sangrûr, long the head-quarters of the Nâbhâ State, but now included in Jind. He died in 1754, his estates passing to his grandson, **Hamîr Singh**, who was a brave and energetic chief, and practically the **founder of the Nâbhâ State.**

Hamîr Singh established a mint, how is not exactly known, and became independent. He died in 1783, and was succeeded by his son, Jaswant Singh, then a boy. I have unfortunately no specimens of his coin.

Jaswant Singh ruled all through the troubled days of Ranjît Singh of Lâhôr, during which he managed to uphold the honour of his State. He obtained the title of Râjâ by patent from the Court of Dehlî. Grasping and unscrupulous as regards rival potentates, he was a good administrator and ruled his State well. He died in 1840, and throughout his career was a firm friend of the English Government. Figures 37, 38, 39, and 40 represent his coinage.

He was succeeded by his son, **Dôvindar Singh**, a vain, foolish, and arrogant prince, whose unfriendly conduct during the Sikh war of 1845-6 ended in his deposition by the British Government in the latter year, and the confiscation of one-fourth of his territory. He was succeeded in that year by his son, Bharpûr Singh, then seven years old, but lived on at Mathurâ and Lâhôr as a state prisoner till 1865. I have no specimen of his coin.

Bharpûr Singh attained his majority in the year of the Mutiny, when he greatly assisted the English with men and money in every way, and reaped his reward in an accession of territory and the right of adoption. He was an intelligent and earnest prince, and was moreover a good vernacular and English scholar, a rare accomplishment for a Sikh prince in his days. He died in 1863 without issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Bhagwân Singh. His coinage is represented by figs. 41, 42, 43, and 44 Plate II.

Bhagwân Singh commenced his reign under circumstances of great domestic trouble, which led to a commission of enquiry being ordered by the Government of India; but he came out of the ordeal without loss of dignity or character, and ended his days in peace in 1871. I have no specimen of his coins. He was succeeded by his son, **Hirâ Singh**, whose coins are represented in figs. 45 and 46. It is to his personal kindness and interest in such matters that I was enabled to obtain the specimen of the Nâbhâ coinage now published.

The coins of the Nâbhâ State therefore extend over the reigns of all the chiefs of that State, thus:—

[Sardâr Hamîr Singh	1754-1783	reigned	29 years.][36]
Râja Jaswant Singh	1783-1840	,,	57 years.
[Rajâ Dôvindar Singh	1840-1846	,,	6 years.][36]
Râjâ Bharpûr Singh	1846-1863	,,	19 years.
[Râjâ Bhagwân Singh	1863-1871	,,	8 years.][36]
Râjâ Hirâ Singh	1871 to date		

[35] I have no coins of the chiefs whose names are in brackets. [36] I have no specimens of the coins of these rulers.

The Nábhá coins are remarkable for an attempt to vary the stereotyped form of the coinage of these Pañjáb chiefs, but it will be observed that originality has not gone beyond imitating the legend of the overshadowing State of Láhór. In one instance (No. 40) the year of the reign has dropped out to make way for the date of the era in use. The Nábhá legend runs thus:—

Obverse دیغ تیغ فتح نصرت بے درنگ یافت از نانک گورو گوبند سنگ [27]

Reverse جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب نابها

Griffin, who had never seen the coins, and writing from information, says, p. 288, footnote, that the words ضرب نابها should be سرکار نابها, but the coins themselves have obviously on them what is above given. The above is the ordinary Sikh or Nánakshâhî legend, and the change in legend seems to take place with the reign of Bharpûr Siñgh; but as there are no specimens of Dêvindar Siñgh it is not possible to say whether the change should be ascribed to the Sikh fanaticism of Dêvindar Siñgh or to the scholastic tendencies of Bharpûr Siñgh. There is no appreciable change otherwise in type to be observed in these coins between the earlier and the later specimens.

Some reference should here be made to the coinage, real or mythical, of the Kapurthalá State. This state was founded by Jassá Siñgh Áhlûwalîá (1718-1783 A.D.) one of the most prominent Sikh chieftains of his day. He is said to have struck a coin, a story widely spread all over the Pañjáb, with the following extraordinary legend :—

سکہ زد درجہان بفضل اکال
ملک احمد گرفت جسا کلال

Griffin, in his *Rájás of the Pañjáb*, p. 460, note 2, remarks that the coin could not have been struck before 1762, (whereas Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, makes out they were struck in 1757-8,) that he had never seen one himself, and that the Rájá of Kapurthalá did not possess one. He then goes on to say :— "The *Tawárîkh-i-Pañjáb* of Ganés Dás states that the Sikhs did not strike the coin, but that the Qázis and Mullas in 1764, after the famous Nánakshâhî [Láhór] rupee had been struck, desiring to anger Ahmad Sháh against the Sikhs, coined twenty rupees with this inscription themselves and sent them to the Sháh at Kabúl, who was as indignant as they anticipated at the insolence of the Distiller, *(kalál,)* who claimed to have seized his country, *mulk-i-Ahmad*! The title or term Jassá Kalál is an allusion to the humble origin of the Áhlûwálîá family. Cunningham, p. 97, 2nd ed. quotes Browne, *Tracts*, ii. 19; Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 93 [wrongly, should be p. 95]; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, ii. 289; and Murray, *Runjeet Singh*, p. 15; and he no doubt took his information direct from Malcolm. Mr. Rodgers, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, part 1., 1881, pp. 77-8, gives the couplet and makes the remark that he has never been able to find the coin. I may add that I have frequently made similar attempts myself without success. It seems that the Kapurthalá Rájás never had a coinage otherwise.

Among the more notorious Indian adventurers towards the end of the last century was the whilom able seaman, George Thomas, Rájá of Hánsi. The authority on the subject of his exploits is the *Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas*, by William Francklin, and they have been dealt with in more or less detail by several writers.[28] Thomas originally came to India in

[27] دیغ is a mock Arabicism for دیگ a pot, cauldron, and refers to the *langar* or public kitchen then kept up by every Sikh Chief

[28] Military Memoirs | of | Mr. George Thomas, | who by extraordinary talent and enterprise, rose | from an obscure situation to the rank of a general | in the service of the Native powers in the North-West of India— Through the work are interspersed | geographical and statistical accounts of several of the states comprising the interior of the Peninsula, especially the countries of Jypoor, Joudpoor, and Oudipoor, by Geographers denominated Rajputanah, the Seiks of Punjab, the territory of Boykanoor and the country adjoining the great desert to the westward of Hurrianah. | Compiled and arranged from Mr. Thomas' original documents. | By William Francklin | Captain of Infantry. | Member of the Asiatic Society | Author of a tour to Persia | And the History of Shah Aulum | *Morva, populos et prælia dicam* | Calcutta | Printed for the author at the Hurkaru Press | A.D. 1803 | entered at Stationer's Hall.

a man-of-war in 1781-2, and entered the service of various chiefs in Southern India, and by 1787 had found his way into the far North-West to the Court of the **Begam Samrû at Sardhanâ**, whose service he entered. This he quitted in 1792, for that of **Âpâ Khanḍâ Râv**, with which Marâṭhâ chief he quarrelled in 1795. He was now a personage of importance in possession of a *jâgîr* granted by his late chief and was able to help Bêgam Samrû when in distress. Upon Âpâ Khanḍâ Râv's suicide in 1797, Thomas seems to have been on uniformly bad terms with his successors, and spent most of his time in defending his *jâgîr* from their attacks. In 1798, taking advantage of the troubles of the times, he appears to have given up the lands he held from the Marâṭhâs, and to have **seized the district round Hisâr and Hâṅsî, known as Harîânâ.** The latter town he made his capital and established himself as Râjâ thereof. His territory, according to Francklin, comprised 253 villages and paid a revenue of about Rs. 3,00,000. Again, according to Francklin, p. 93, to quote the remarkable words he has put into Thomas's mouth, **"'here, says Mr. Thomas** (with that energy and spirited animation which distinguished him throughout the scenes of his extraordinary life), **'here I established a mint and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country, etc.'"** After establishing himself at Hâṅsî, the rest of Thomas's life, like that of the neighbouring chiefs, was one of perpetual war: in his case, against the Marâṭhâs and the Sikhs, as represented chiefly by the chiefs of Paṭiâlâ, Nâbhâ and Jînd. In his case also, it ended in a general combination against him, his flight into British Territory and his death at Berhampore (Bahrâmpûr) in 1802.

The *Târîkh Makhzan Paṅjâb* of Mufti Ghulâm Sarwar Qurêshî of Lâhôr, published by Nawal Kishôr at Lucknow in 1877, repeats the assertion about the coinage of George Thomas, in its account of him, pp. ۲۳-۲۵. ذکرجارج طامس صاحب عرف جهاز صاحب انگریزکا The actual words at the bottom of p. ۲۴ are بعد انتظام قرار واقعی کے طامس صاحب نے سکہ اپنے نام کا جاری کیا "after completing his administrative arrangements **Mr. Thomas issued coins in his own name.**" Thomas, it is true, ruled only for a very short time, and all trace of his coins may have been lost; but, if issued in any quantity, this seems hardly possible. He built a fort, due east of, and not far from, Delhî, which he named after himself George-garḥ, but which is now known as Jahâzgarḥ, just as he is known as Jahâz Sâḥib, apparently in conscious recollection of his origin, for says the *Târîkh Makhzan Paṅjâb*:

جارج طامس صاحب انگریز بهي بعهد عملداري مرتهون کے ایک رئیس خود مختار ضلع پرپانر
وغیرہ میں پر گذارہی پہلے یہہ شخص انگریزي جہازون میں ذلیل عہدہ پر نوکر تها.

In his territory also were the towns of Hâṅsî, Hisâr, Bhawânî, Fatḥâbâd, Jînd and Tuhânâ. In some of these places therefore there may be coins belonging to him lurking in money-changers boxes. It is worth while searching I have never myself been able to make a personal search for Thomas's coin, **nor have I ever heard of any one who has possessed or seen one,** though I have frequently enquired in likely directions.

III. MINOR MARKS.[29]

It will have been observed already that the only method of distinguishing the coin of one chief from another's is by the **special mark** each ruler puts upon those issued in his time. Thus, Alhâ Siṅgh of Paṭiâlâ had a *kâlghî*, Karm Siṅgh a two-handed sword, Narindar Siṅgh a spear head, and so on. Again, the Malêr-Kôṭlâ Nawâbs used the initials of their names as their distinguishing marks. But there is another possible method of separating out the coins of the rulers in cases like the coinage under consideration. Each would start a new die as he succeeded, which die would have to differ in some respects from that of his predecessors, and hence it might be possible to detect each ruler's coins by the **minor marks** and ornaments on it. Those would then become important as the chief, and in many cases the only, method of

[29] The importance of noting these on Indian coins was pointed out by Prinsep more than 50 years ago, but seems to be have been lost sight of by numismatists. See his remarks, *Useful Tables*, Part I, pp 35, 36 and 53 to 56; and Plate III.

identifying the coins. In the following detailed description I have therefore very carefully considered the minor marks on the 46 coins of the plates. The result shows that the minor marks are a good, though not complete, indication of the ownership of a particular coin, because some rulers used more than one die and the moneyers were not always careful to preserve the ornaments intact in duplicating the die. *E.g.*, the two coins of Alhâ Singh of Paṭiâlâ (figs. 1 and 2) are from different dies, and exhibit different marks. The same remark holds good of the two specimens (figs. 19 and 20) of coins of Raghbîr Singh of Jînd, of 'Umr Khân of Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ (figs. 27 and 28) and of Ibrâhim 'Alî Khân of Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ (figs. 35 and 36). Again, as to the coins of Nâbhâ, which are dated and thus distinguished, of the four specimens of Jaswant Singh of Nâbhâ (figs. 37, 38, 39, 40), all are of different dies and have different minor marks; while the four specimens of Bharpûr Singh of Nâbhâ (figs 41, 42, 43, 44) are from three dies,[30] each die differing in its marks. On the other hand, Râjindar Singh of Paṭiâlâ has apparently only used one die (figs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14), Bhâg Singh of Jînd two dies without alteration of marks (figs. 17 and 18), as have also Karm Singh of Paṭiâlâ (figs. 5 and 6), Amîr Khân of Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ (figs. 30, 31, and 32),[31] and Hîrâ Singh of Nâbhâ (figs. 45 and 46). And in all the cases of single specimens, the dies and marks are both peculiar to each ruler; *e.g.*, Narindar Singh and Mahindar Singh of Paṭiâlâ; Gajpat Singh, Saṅghat Singh, and Sarûp Singh of Jînd; Sikandar 'Alî Khân and Sûbe Khân of Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ.

A complication in using the minor marks for the purposes of identification is caused by the facts that successive rulers, such as Amar Singh and Sâḥib Singh of Paṭiâlâ, have used apparently the same die (figs. 3 and 4), and that the coin of Asadu'llah Khân differs from that of his successor Amîr Khân of Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ only in the form of the distinguishing initial letter ʃ.

The coins of Kaithal are too crude to help us much here: but figs. 22 and 24 seem to be from the same die; while figs. 23, 25, and 26 have all distinctive marks, are struck from different dies, and belonged (?) to separate chiefs of that line. Indeed, one is almost tempted to apportion the coins respectively to Bhâî Dêsâ Singh, Bhâî Lâl Singh, Bhâî Partâb Singh, and Bhâî Udai Singh.

IV. METHOD OF MINTING.

Griffin, *Râjâs of the Panjâb*, in a long footnote extending over pages 286-289, gives the detailed report of General R. G. Taylor, at one time Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjâb for the Cis-Satluj States, on the mints of those States, which is of much value in connection with this paper, and, indeed with the study generally of the methods of Oriental mints. Any one who has entered into Indian or Oriental numismatics generally, must be convinced that, where the European method of minting has not been adopted, Orientals coin now as they have done at any time these 2,000 years. Any knowledge, then, that we can gather now of the working of a genuine Eastern mint will no doubt explain what has occurred in Eastern mints as a rule since the days that coins began to be used.

General Taylor asked the authorities at Paṭiâlâ, Jînd, and Nâbhâ, six questions, *viz.*:—

(1) The political condition of the coinage.

(2) The nature, title, and character of the coinage.

(3) The annual outturn of the establishment and value of the coinage as compared with that of the British Government.

(4) The process of manufacture and any particulars as to the artificers employed.

(5) The arrangements for receiving bullion and the charges (if any) levied for its conversion into coin.

(6) The extent of the currency.

[30] Figs. 43 and 44 have been struck from the same die.

[31] Figs. 31 and 32 are from the same die.

Paṭiálá, as might be expected, gave the best answers; and as regards the first question we may pass over all the replies, as recapitulating what has been already written herein, except to note that in 1857 Paṭiálá very nearly succeeded in ousting her old coinage for a modern English rupee on the plan that Alwar adopted later, and as Mindôn Min of Burma succeeded in doing for his country about the same time. Passing on, we find that **the Paṭiálá rupees are called Rajashâhi, the Jind rupees Jindiá, and the Nábhá rupees simply Nábhá.**

Only silver, and occasionally gold, is coined. The Paṭiálá rupee weighs 11½ *máshas* of pure silver and is of the full value of a rupee. The weight of the Jind rupee is the same, but its value is only about 12 *ánás* (¾ rupee). The Nábhá rupee is also of the same weight, and is valued at 15 *ánás* ($\frac{15}{16}$ rupee).

The Paṭiálá *mohar* is a valuable coin, being 10¾ *máshas* of pure gold. Jind does not coin gold, but the Nábhá Government sometimes strikes a *mohar* of 9¾ *máshas* of pure gold.

In none of these States is there any regular outturn of coinage. Special occasions and sometimes economical necessities oblige the mint to become active by fits and starts. In fact the moneyers only work when "necessity drives." In Jind and Nábhá, royal marriages and great state functions are practically the only occasions when money is coined in any quantity.

Jind apparently keeps up no **establishment** for its mint, but Paṭiálá and Nábhá do so. The Paṭiálá establishment consists of a superintendent, a clerk, two assayers, one weigher, ten smiths, ten moneyers, four refiners and one engraver. The Nábhá establishment is on a still smaller scale, *viz.*, one superintendent, one assayer, one smelter, one refiner, one smith. The refining is carefully performed in both cases, and the silver and gold kept up to standard.

Jind has never received bullion for coining, but Paṭiálá receives both silver and gold, and Nábhá silver. For silver Paṭiálá charges the public 1$\frac{1}{16}$ per cent. and for gold Rs. 24 per 100 coins, or 1½ per cent. Nábhá charges less, only ⅞ per cent. for coining silver.

Jind rupees are current only within the State, but the Paṭiálá coins find currency both in the State and in its immediate neighbourhood in some quantity; while only a few Nábhá coins find their way outside the State.

The Málér-Kôṭlá mint issues its coins apparently on precisely the same lines, the rupee going by the name of the **Kôṭla rupee.** Extensive frauds on the part of the mint masters, twice detected of late years in fraudulently alloying the silver, has depreciated the value of this rupee to 12 *ánás* (¾ rupee).[32]

It is also very interesting to watch the steady **depreciation in weight** of the coins of the successive chiefs of Mél r-Kôṭlá in connection with the general **theory of the evolution of coins.** Thus:—

	weight of coin
	9 *máshas* 4 *rattis*
'Umr Khán, 1768-78	
Amír Khán, 1821-45	9 „ 2 „
Maḥbúb 'Alí (Sáḥb) Khán, 1845-1859	8 „ 4 „
Sikandar 'Alí Khán, 1859-1871	8 „ 2 „
Ibráhím 'Alí Khán, 1871 to date	8 „ 1 „

No wonder the Khánṣáḥib 'Ináyat 'Alí Khán in the passage just quoted remonstrates against the practices of the Kôṭlá mint!

The present writer, as has been already noted, had the good fortune some five years ago to be escorted over the **Paṭiálá Mint,** and to have been given an opportunity of noting what occurred.

The Mint is an ordinary Panjábí Court-yard, about 20 feet square in the open part, entered by a gateway leading into a small apartment doing duty as an entrance hall, the remainder of the courtyard being surrounded by low open buildings opening into it. These buildings, which looked like the "rooms" of a *sarái*, are the workshops.

[32] *Principal Kôṭlá Afgháns*, p. 19, footnote.

The method of coining in this very primitive "Mint" is as follows:—[33]

The silver after being assayed is cast into small bars (*rênî*) by being run into grooved iron moulds. The melting is done in the courtyard in very small quantities in little furnaces improvised for each occasion. The thickness of the bars is about the diameter of the rupees (*wde* the plate attached), and when cold they are cut up by a hammer and chisel by guess work into small weights, (*gêlrâ*), and weighed in small balances as accurately as hand-weighing will permit. These *gêlrâs* are afterwards heated and rounded by hammering into discs (*mutallis*) and again weighed by hand and corrected by small additions of silver hammered in cold, or by scraping. After this the disc is handed over to the professional weigher (*wazankash*) who finally weighs it by hand and passes it. It is then stamped by hammering, being put between two iron dies placed in a strong wooden frame. The lower die (reverse) is called *pâiû* and the upper (obverse) *hâlû*. These dies are very much larger than the coins, so that only a portion of the legend can come off, and the coiners are not at all careful as to how much appears on the coin. The only thing they look to is to try and make the particular *mark* of the reigning chief appear. If they do not succeed it does not matter much.

Sir Richard Temple mentions in his diary kept in Kashmir, that in 1859[34] he visited the mint at Srinagar, and this is what he saw: "In the afternoon we went to see the Mahârâjâ's mint on the banks of the Nahari Mâr. The building and the whole workshop are very rude. The process of coining was as follows:—The silver and the alloy of base metal was first melted and fused. A piece of the required weight was then separated, made as nearly round as a rough hand could make it, and struck with a hammer over a die! Thus was a rupee worth about 10 *ânâs* ($\frac{5}{8}$ rupee) of the East India Company's money produced!"

V. DETAILED DESCRIPTION.

Paṭiâla.[35]

No. 1.—Coin of Âlhâ Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.[36]

Obverse:—Legend

[حـ]كم شد [با]حمد بادشـ[اه] ـه [كم]زن مرـ[يم] اوج [صـ]ـ[ا]ـ[ح] [ي]

Marks:—ھ over باحمد and ھ over سكم.

Reverse:—Legend

[ضر]ب [جلـ]وس ھ [ميمنـ]ـت [صانو]س

Marks:—ھ after س in جلوس and ھ between the و and the س.

No. 2.—Coin of Âlhâ Singh: *ex coll.* B. M.[37]

Obverse:—Legend, badly cut

[باحـ]مد بادشا[ه] ـه [كم] ازاوج

Marks:—ھ over احمد ھ between باحمد and بادشاه; ھ after د in بادشاه. What read like ٢١٣ are really not figures, but the apparent ٢ is the tail of م in حكم, as can be abundantly seen throughout the coins and the ١ is part of the ornament.

Reverse:—Legend

[ضر]ب [جلو]س ھ [ميمنـ]ـت

Marks:—ھ after the س of جلوس, being the *kalghî* or full sign of Âlhâ Singh, and ھ over the ھ; part of the border also appears in this coin.

---

[33] See *Pañjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. II. note 188.

[34] *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, Vol. II. pp. 75-76.

[35] Only the words actually visible on the coins are given. The letters of these words which are not actually visible owing to rubbing or cutting off are shown in brackets. All the coins are silver unless otherwise specially stated.

[36] That is *ex coll.* R. C. Temple.

[37] That is *ex coll.* British Museum. Those coins are added to the plates to complete the evidence available.

No. 3.— Coin of Amar Singh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :— Legend [قا]در [بیچ]ون [با] د شاه سکر زن برسیم و زر

Marks : — Obscure.

Reverse : — Legend [ضر] ب [ج] لوس [میمنا]ت [مانو]س

Marks : — Apparently the same as those of Âlhâ Singh, but coin recognized without hesitation as that of Amar Singh by local dealers.

No. 4.— Coin of Sâhib Singh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :— Legend [حکم] [ع] احمد باد ش [اه] سه [کم] زن بر [ا] زاوج [ص] [ا] [ي]

Marks : — over باحمد and after اوج. It is to be observed that the tail of the م in حکم comes clearly down between د and با in باد شاه in this coin, as in No 1. This is the key to an otherwise inexplicable letter throughout these coins.

Reverse :— Legend : same letters visible as on the preceding coin.

Marks : — The same as on the preceding coin ; but coin recognized by dealers as Sâhib Singh's. It would seem therefore that the first three Pa'tiâlâ Râjâs did not vary their coins.

No. 5.— Coin of Karm Singh : *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse :— Legend [ش] داز [بیچ] ون [باد] شاه [سه] کم زن برسیم و زر

Marks : — None.

Reverse :—Legend [جلو] س [میمنا] ت

Marks : — between the و and the س of جلوس and a fine two-handed sword (*saif*) after the س, being the full sign of Karm Singh.

No. 6.— Coin of Karm Singh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :— Legend : same letters visible as in the previous specimen.

Marks : — None.

Reverse :— Legend. Same letters visible as in the previous specimen.

Marks : — The same also, but the sword is not nearly so well cut.

No. 7.— Coin of Narindar Singh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse : Legend [شد] [با] حمد باد ش [اه] سه [کم] زن برسیم [م] اوج ص [ا] [ي]

Marks : — over باحمد

Reverse :—Legend [جلو] س [میمنا] ت [مانو] س

Marks : — after the and before it and between the و and the س of جلوس. It is to be observed that these particular marks do not thenceforward change. There is also after the س of جلوس a spear-head—the full sign of Narindar Singh.

No. 8.—Coin of Râjindar Singh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

This coin has got into the wrong order in the plate and will be considered below with Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14.

No. 9.—Coin of Mahindar Singh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :— Legend, unfortunately much rubbed but still visible :

[ش] د از [قاد] ر [بیچ] ون [ز] ن برسیم [م]

Marks : — None.

Reverse : — Legend [جلو] س [میمنا] ت [مانو] س

Marks : — In addition to those in No. 7 after the س of جلوس and oo over it ; or halberd-head—the full sign of Mahindar Singh.

Nos. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14.—All coins of Râjindar Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

No. 14 is gold. The marks on the reverses of these coins are those on No. 7 as above noted, and the full sign of Râjindar Singh comes out very clearly. It is the short dagger well known in India as the *katâr*. There is also under the ب of ضرب a cross ✠. These specimens are chiefly useful in helping us to read the full legend. The mint mark سرہند Sarhand (commonly known as Sirhind) comes out on No. 10. Just as No. 9 shows where the قادر of the first line of the couplet حکم شد از قادر بیچون came on the die, so No. 10 shows شد از clearly. No. 11 shows از اوج ماہی in full, and in No. 13 we get ماہیاہ the remainder of this line indicated.

Jind.[38]

No. 15 — Coin of Gajpat Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse: Legend roughly cut [حکم]م شد از [قا]در [بیچو]ن بادشا[ہ] زن بر[سیم]

Marks: — None.

Reverse: — Legend صنم جلوس ✠ [میمنـ]ـت [صا]نوس

Marks: — Not clear, but over ع in جلوس ✓; over و in same word ✠; and ✠ before و; also ✠ over the ص of صیمنت.

No 16.— Coin of Sangat Singh: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse: — Legend roughly cut [با]دشا[ہ] ـ[کم] زن بر سیم

Marks. — None.

Reverse:—Legend clearer [ضر]ب [جـ]لوس ✠ [صو]مدت

Marks: —✠ over the و of جلوس; ✠ before و; ✠ inside س of the same word.

Nos. 17 and 18.—Coins of Bhag Singh: No. 17, *ex coll.* R. C. T., No. 18 *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse:— same Legend visible on both [باحم]د بادشا[ہ] ـ[کم] زن بر[ر]

Marks:—The tail of the م very plain between the با and د of بادشاہ

Reverse:— Blank.

Nos. 19 and 20.—Coins of Raghbir Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Legends well cut and clear, though coins are rubbed, and useful for completing complete On No. 19 حکم شد comes out quite clearly, as also does the شاہ of بادشاہ, not usually visible on these coins. On both reverses ضرب سر ہند is clear, as also is the word میمنت which is not usually found in full.

No. 21.—Coin of Sarûp Singh: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse.— Legend [حکم]م شد از [با] حمد بادشا[ہ] ـ[کم] زن بر[سیم]

Marks: — ✠ above باحمد

Reverse: — Legend [ضر]ب جلوس ✠ میمنت مانوس

Marks:— ✠ over the و of جلوس

Kaithal.

No. 22. Coin of the Sardâr of Kaithal: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse:—Legend [باحم] د باد [شاہ] ـ [کم] اوج

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend [ضر] ب [جلـ] وس ✠ [میمنـ] ت

Marks:—None.

No. 23. Coin of the Sardâr of Kaithal: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse:—Legend, very rough. تاج [شاہ] ـ [کم] زن

Marks:—Obscure.

[38] The coins of these Râjâs are unfortunately not given in the order of reigns, which really occurred as follows. —Gajpat, Bhâg, Fath (no specimen), Sangat, Sarûp, Raghbir.

Reverse :—Legend, very rough [ضر]ب [جلا]وس ﴿ [عيمنة]ت
Marks. —None.

No. 24.—Coin of the Sardâr of Kaiṭhal; *ex coll.* R. C. T.
Obverse :—Legend, rough but better than the two preceding.
[با]حمد بادشا[اه] ـ [كم] زن
Marks :— ❖ over باحمد.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر]ب [جلو]س ﴿ [عيمنة]ت
Marks :— ❀ before the س of حلوس

No. 25.—Coin of the Sardâr of Kaiṭhal: *ex coll.* R. C. T.
Obverse :—Legend, badly cut and worn بادشا[اه] ـ [كم] ز[ن] [ـ]يم
Marks :—None, but the mark ⌋ is apparently meant for the tail of the م of حكم.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر]ب [جلا]وس ﴿
Marks :—None.

No. 26.—Coin of the Sardâr of Kaiṭhal: *ex coll.* R. C. T.
Obverse :—Legend, very rough شد [با]حمد[ه] [باد] شا[اه]
Marks :—❀ after باحمد.

Reverse :—Legend [جلا]وس ﴿ [عيمنة]ت
Marks :—❀ before the س of حلوس

Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr.

No. 27.—Coin of 'Umr Khân: *ex coll.* R. C. T.
Obverse :—Legend, finely cut
[حكـ]م شد از [با]حمد بادشا[اه] ـ [كم] زن نوسيم [ا]وج [ع]اوي
Marks :—Numerous and peculiar to this coin : ❀ over باحمد ; ❀ under it ; ❀ under بادشاه ; ❀❀ inside the ن of زن ; ❀ under سيم ; ❀ after اوج.

Reverse :—Legend [صو]ب [سربند]ه [ج]لوس [عيمنة]ت [هاذ]وس
Marks :—❀ after the س of حلوس ; ❀ between the و and س of this word ; and over و ❀❀, after سربند ❀ and over it the same mark. In the س of حلوس instead of ﴿ we have the letter ع the initial of 'Umr Khân's name as his sign. All the Kôṭlâ-Mâlêr coins have such an initial as a distinguishing mark. The omission of the ﴿ in this place is very rare in these series. About ع are ❀ and ❀ as marks.

No. 28.—Coin of 'Umr Khân: *ex. coll.* B. M.

Identical with the preceding specimen, except that the rare words نامعاه on these coins are indicated on the obverse, and ❀ is obviously used as an ornament in the س of ماوس on the reverse.

No. 29.—Coin of Asadu'llah Khân: *ex. coll.* R. C. T.
Obverse :—Legend [حكـ]م شد از [نيچو]ن [باحم]ه باد شا[اه] ـ [كم] زن نوسيـ[م]
Marks :— ﴿ over احمد.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر]ب [جلا]وس ﴿ [عيمنة]ت [ما]لوس
Marks :—❀ between س and و in حلوس ; ❀ over و in the same word ; indications of the same flower ornament as in No. 27 and of a trefoil ornament in the س of ماوس. The distinguishing sign of this ruler is a straight | after the ﴿ in the س of حلوس.

Nos. 30, 31 and 32.—Coins of Amir Khân: Nos. 30 and 31 *ex. coll.* R. C. T.; No. 32 *ex. coll.* B. M.

These coins are practically the same as No. 29, except that the *alif* standing for the initial of امیر is a curved one, whereas that standing for the initial of اسد الله is straight. No. 32 is a rough, worn specimen.

No. 33.—Coin of Sikandar 'Ali Khân: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend حکم شد از [بیچون [ز]احمد بادشا[ه]

Marks:— ۱۵ after باحمد.

Reverse:—Legend [ضر]ب [جلا]وس ۱۵ [میمنا]ت [عانو]س

Marks:— ۱۵ (being a clear *kalghî* or crest) after the س of جلوس; and within the س of that word the letter س as the initial of سکندر over ۱۵.

No. 34.—Coin of Sûbê Khân *alias* Mahbûb 'Ali Khân: *ex. coll.* R. C. T.[39]

Obverse:—Legend [حک]م شد [باحم]د بادشا[ه] [ک]م زن برسه [یم] [او]ج [ص]ابی

Marks:—۱۵ after باحمد.

Reverse:—Legend [ضر]ب [جلو]س ۱۵ [میمنا]ت [عانو]س

Marks:—Same as on the preceding, but in س of جلوس the letter م as the initial of مضروب; and ۞ under it. There are signs also of ۞ under the ب of ضرب.

Nos. 35 and 36. Coins of Ibrâhîm Khân: *ex. coll.* R. C. T.

Two separate types: No. 35 is a fine coin with, on the obverse, ۞ over the د of بادشاه and ۞ over the و of اوج. The marks on the reverse are remarkable: ۞ after the س of جلوس and ۞ within it, and ۞ over it. اب for ابراهیم are clear in both coins. The *kalghî* is here, it will be observed, turned into a flower.

In No. 36 there is a clear return to the *kalghî* and the ornaments of Nos. 33 and 34, the mark ۞ peculiar to the top of the *kalghî* being visible after the س of جلوس on the reverse. There are however ۞ within the س and ۞ over it, as in the last coin. On the obverse the elaborate ornament over the د of بادشاه turns into a simple ۞.

Nâbhâ.[40]

No. 37.—Coin of Jaswant Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend از [بیچو]ن [با] دشا [ه] سکه زن برسیم و

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend [میمنا]ت [جلو]س ۱۵ ۸۳

Marks:— ۞ rude *kalghî*, the mark of Jaswant Singh; ۸۳ is for ۱۸۸۳, *i.e.*, St. 1883 = A. D. 1826.

No. 38.—Coin of Jaswant Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend [حک]م شد از قادر [بیچو] ن بادشا[ه] زن برسه [یم]

Marks:— ۱۵ before با in بادشاه.

---

[39] These No. 33 and 34 have become reversed on the plate unfortunately. Sûbê (or Mahbûb 'Ali) Khân preceded Sikandar 'Ali Khân.

[40] The coins of this State in the plate are not according to date of striking, the order of which is 38 (probably), 39, 37, 40, 42, 41, 43 (?), 44, 45, 46.

Reverse :— [ضر]ب [جلا]وس [ميمنة]ت [صانو]س

Marks :— ✠ over و in جلوس and ✠ between و and س; signs after *kalghî* of س. No Hindu date on this coin, but I think it is undoubtedly Jaswant Singh's, because of his mark thereon, assuming that the local dealers in Patiâlâ were right in assuring me that it is a Nâbhâ coin.

No. 39.—Coin of Jaswant Singh : *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse :—Legend (badly preserved) [حكا]م شد از [با] حمد باد ش [اد] = [كم] زن بره [يم]

Marks :— ✠ after باحمد

Reverse :—Legend [جلو]س ✠ ۷۷ [ميمنة]ت [صانو]س

Marks :—Part of the marginal ornament visible :—A *kalghî* partly visible ; ✠ after the س of جلوس ; ✠ after the س of صانوس ; ✠ partly visible within it. ۷۷ is for ۱۸۷۷, *i. e.*, St. 1877 = A. D. 1820.

No. 40.—Coin of Jaswant Singh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend [حكا]م شد از [بيچو]ن [با]د[شا]ه [ـه] = كم سيم زر از اوج

Marks :—None.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر]ب [جلا]وس ۹۳ [ميمن]ذت صانوس

Marks :— ✠ after س in جلوس and ✠ within it. ۹۳ for ۱۸۹۳, *i.e.*, St. 1893 = A. D. 1836.

This coin is of a type differing from the rest in having no ✠ as the date of the جلوس.

No. 41.—Coin of Bharpûr Singh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend, now peculiar to Nâbhâ as dropping the familiar legend of Ahmad Shâh, and adopting the equally familiar Sikh legend.

[۴۱]دیغ تیغ فتـ[ح] نصرت یافت از گورو گوبند[ه] = [نگهم]

Marks :—۱۹۱۷ over گورو giving date St. 1917 = 1860 A. D.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر]ب [ذ]ا بم [با] [ج]لوس ✠ ميمنت [صاذ]وس

Marks :—The *pîpal* leaf of the Sikh coins is evidently the mark of Bharpûr Singh star ✪ between و and س.

No. 42.—Coin of Bharpûr Singh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend [نصر]ت [يا] فت ازنانك گورو گوبند صذ[گهم]

Marks :— below the ت of يافت and above it ; ۱۹۰۷ over گورو giving date St. 1907 = 1850 A. D.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر]ب [ذ] ا [بم] ا جلوس ✠ [ميمنة]ت [صاذ]وس

Marks :—Same as in preceding coin, and added over ب in ضرب ; ۱۹۰۷ over the و of جلوس ; over the ذ of the same words; between the و and س of صانوس ; between the two *alifs* of بابا.

No. 43.—Coin of Bharpûr Singh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse :—Legend [ذ]يغ فتح بيد[رنگ نصر]ت [گ]ورو گوبند [صذ] گهم [يا ف]ت

Marks :—۱۹۱ over گورو giving a date between St. ۱۹۱۰ and ۱۹۱۹ or between A. D. 1853 and 1862.

Reverse :—Legend [ضر]ب [جلا] وس ✠ [ميمنة]ت [صانو]س

Marks :—Same as on No. 41 : but after the ✠ in the س of جلوس.

No. 44.—Coin of Bharpûr Singh : *ex coll.* R. C. T.

---

[41] ديغ is an interesting word as being a false Arabicism rhyming to تيغ following. The word is really ديگ a cauldron. The verse means "the pot, the sword, the victory, the conquest, Gurû Gôbind Singh obtained from Nânak"; "the pot" corresponding "to the purse," for with the old Panjâb Chiefs he that could fill the stomachs of his followers was sure to obtain many.

Obverse:—Legend گورو گو[ند] ص[نگھہ] پافت ارنانک

Marks:—۱۹۲۰ over گورو giving date St. 1920 = A. D. 1863.

Reverse:—Same as that of No. 43.

No. 45.—Coin of Hirâ Singh: *ex coll* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend [تم]غ فتح بید[رنگ] [نصر]ت گورو گوبند سنگ[ھہ] [پا]فت از نانک

Marks:—Numerous small strokes and dots about the letters, the long cross stroke of the کف of سنگھہ is clearly visible over the ھہ of پافت. ۱۹۲۸ over گورو, *i.e.*, St. 1928 = A. D. 1871.

Reverse:—Legend (rubbed) [ضر]ب نانہا [حا]وس ۱۵ [صامد]ت [صافو]ص

Marks:—*katâr* or short dagger after the س of حاوس, which is the mark of Hirâ Singh; accompanied by a flower ; the star peculiar to these coins between the و and س of حاوس; part of the marginal ornament visible.

No. 46.—Coin of Hirâ Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend and marks same as in the preceding coin, but date ۱۹۲۹, *i.e.*, St. 1929, = A. D. 1872.

Reverse:—Legend and marks same as last coin, but clearer.

Marks:—Numerous lines and dots about the letters with ❀ after each *alif* in نانہا.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM UDAYPUR IN GWALIOR.

BY PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN

I edit these inscriptions from rubbings placed at my disposal, together with others, by Mr. Fleet, to whom they were made over by General Sir A. Cunningham. The originals are at **Udaypur**,[1] a town now belonging to the State of Gwâlior, and once forming part of the kingdom of Mâlava; Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 52, Lat. 23° 54′ N., Long 78° 7′ E. The inscriptions A. and C. are important, chiefly because they show that the **Chaulukya rulers of Aṇhilwâḍ** do not vainly boast when in their inscriptions[2] they claim to have repeatedly defeated the kings of **Mâlava**. And the inscription B. is of some interest, both for its date and because it contains the name of one of the districts which is mentioned in the inscription C. I may add here that there is **another inscription at Udaypur**, which in line 3 professes to have been recorded during the reign of victory of **Jayasiṁha**,[3] the predecessor of the king **Kumârapâladêva** who is mentioned in the inscription A., but that the condition of the rubbing renders its publication at present impossible. According to a statement in pencil which is on the rubbing, this last inscription is outside the entrance of the great temple of the town; it contains 12 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2′ 8″ broad by 1′ 5″ high.

A.—Stone Inscription of Kumârapâladêva.

(The Vikrama year 1220 ?).

This inscription is stated to be inside the east entrance of the great temple of the town. It consists of 20 lines; and the writing covers a space of about 1′ broad by 1′11″ high. But the inscription is **incomplete** now; for, at the beginning of each line we miss from about eight to ten *aksharas*, which may have covered a space of about eight inches broad, all the way down, on the proper right of the actually preserved writing. The size of the letters is between 1″ and 1¼″. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskṛit; and, judging from what

---

[1] See *Archæol Survey of India*, Vol VII p. 81, and Vol X. p 65

[2] See *ante*, Vol VI p 186 Compare also *ante*, Vol. IV p 205; *Kîrtikaumudî*, Introduction, p. xii.; Professor Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.* for 1881-84, pp. 20-21, and the verses at the end of the several pâdas of Hemachandra's Sanskrit grammar

[3] Regarding the word *Tribhuvanagaṇḍa*, spoken of *ante*, Vol VI p. 186, I would point out that in a MS which was written during the reign of Jayasiṁha, *Tribhuvanagaṇḍa* is a name applied to Jayasiṁha himself See my *Report* for 1880-81, p 25, No. 41. Compare also *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No 2, p xiii., No. 56, line 2.

remains, the whole inscription was in prose throughout. The writing appears on the whole to be well preserved; but, the rubbing of the lower part being in some places very indistinct, and the inscription being incomplete, all I can say about the specific purpose for which it was put up is, that the **inscription** was intended to record certain donations in favour of the temple of the god Ûdalêśvara[4] at the town of **Udayapura**, by a personage whose name appears to be Vasantapâla, and who belonged to a family the name of which is given in line 9, but which I am unable to make out with certainty.

The historically important portion of the inscription is contained in lines 1-8, from which we learn that the above-mentioned donations were made during the reign of the (Chaulukya) king **Kumârapâladêva of Anâ**[hilapâṭaka], the vanquisher of the king of **Sâkambhari** and of the lord of **Avanti** (*i. e.* the ruler of Mâlava), while **Yaśôdhava**[la] was prime-minister, and when a certain Râjya[pâla ?], who is described as *mahâ-sâdhanika*,[5] and who had been appointed by Kumârapâladêva, was governing Udayapura. For this statement proves beyond doubt that, when the donations were made, the town of Udayapura, probably together with the surrounding districts, formed part of the kingdom of Aṇhilwaḍ.

The date of the inscription was fully given at the commencement of line 1, but all that remains of it now, is the *akshara*s **sha-sudi 15 Gurau**, *i. e.* 'on the 15th of the bright half of a month the name of which must end with the syllable *sha* (or possibly *kha*), on a **Thursday**.' Nevertheless, the statement contained in line 11, that the donations were made on the occasion of **an eclipse of the moon**, enables us to calculate the date and to supply the missing portion of it at the commencement of line 1, in my opinion, with absolute certainty.

From the inscription C. below we learn that Kumârapâladêva had ceased to rule in April, A.D. 1173; and from other sources[6] we know that he had ascended the throne about A.D. 1143-44. In an attempt to settle the proper date of our inscription, we must then first find out what lunar eclipses from about the beginning of A.D. 1141 to April 1173 fell on a Thursday, and what dates of the Hindu calendar corresponded to the particular Thursdays so found. The result of our proceeding in this manner is as follows:—

There were lunar eclipses on Thursday,—

the 12th February,	A.D. 1142, = Phâlguna-sudi 15;
the 16th June,	A.D. 1155, = Ashâḍha-sudi 15;
the 9th October,	A.D. 1158. = Âśvina-sudi 15;
the 18th August,	A.D. 1160, = Bhâdrapada-sudi 15;
the 1st February,	A.D 1162, = Mâgha-sudi 15;
the 12th December,	**A.D. 1163, = Vikrama 1220 expired, Pausha-sudi 15;**
the 27th May,	A.D 1165, = Jyaishtha-sudi 15;
the 6th April,	A.D. 1167, = Chaitra-sudi 15;
the 19th September,	A.D. 1168, = Âśvina-sudi 15;
the 13th January,	A.D. 1172, = Mâgha-sudi 15.

From this statement it appears that during the whole reign of Kumârapâladêva there was no lunar eclipse on a Thursday in a Hindu month the name of which ends with *kha*; and during the same period there was only one lunar eclipse, that of the 12th December, A.D. 1163, on a Thursday in a Hindu month the name of which ends with *sha*. Accordingly, **Thursday,**[7] **the 12th December, A.D. 1163,** = Pausha-sudi 15 of Vikrama 1220 expired, must be the date of our inscription, and the full date at the commencement of line 1 must have been **Saṁvat**

[4] The name of this deity, *Ûdalêśvara-dêva*, occurs in several other inscriptions at Udaypur; and we also find it in line 5 of an inscription from Bhadrêśvar, in *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, No. 2, page xiii., No 50 *Śrî-Ûdala* occurs in *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol II, p. 216. We may perhaps compare *Ûdalêśvaya*, which in the *Pâraskara-gṛihyasûtra* occurs as the name of a goddess of agriculture.

[5] This title occurs in the grant of Vâkpatirâja of Dhârâ, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 160, l. 9.

[6] See *e.g. ante*, Vol VI. p. 213.

[7] According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* the eclipse (a partial one) would have taken place at Ujjain 12 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise. And by Professor Jacobi's Tables the full-moon tithi ended 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

1220 varshê Pausha-sudi 15 Gurau. And I may point out that this result is in perfect accord with a statement at the end of a MS. of the *Kalpachhâyâ*, given by me in my *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 10, according to which the same **Yaśôdhavala**, who is mentioned as prime-minister in the present inscription, held the same position under Kumârapâladêva in "Saṁvat 1218 varshê dvi° Âshâḍha-sudi 5 Gurau," = Thursday, 29th June, A.D. 1161, *i. e.* within two years and a half of the date which I assign to the present inscription.

TEXT.[9]

1 . . . sha[8]-sudi 15 Gurau ॥ Adya=êha śrîmad-**Aṇa**-[10]
2 . . . [j]âvalî-virâjita-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahâ-[11]
3 . . . ti-vara-ladhva(bdha)-pranidhapratâpa-nijabhuja-[vikra].[12]
4 . . . **Sâ(śâ)kaṁbharibhûpâla**-śrîd[13]-**Avaṁtinâtha**-śrîmat-**Ku**-[14]
5 . . . tan-niyukta-mahâmâtya-śrî-**Jasôdhava**-[15]
6 . . . [sta]-mudrâ-vyâpârân=paripaṁthayat=ity=êta-[16]
7 . . . [jâ]dhirâja-śrî-**Kumârapâladêvêna** nija-[17]
8 . . . lê tan-niyukta-mahâsâ[dha]nika-śrî-Râ[jya]-
9 . . . [dhva(bdha)ḥ]-śrî-**Udayapur**[ê] [Sthârôṁ ḥ]vak-ânvaya-mahârâ[ja]-
10 . . . mahârâjaputra-śrî-Vasaṁtapâl[êṅ=âtra anu- ḥ]
11 . . . khya[tê][18] yathâ ॥ Adya **sômagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi**
12 . . . [svarṇa ḥ][19]-samâhṛita-târthôdakaiḥ snâtvâ jagad-[gu]-
13 . . . [sva]-puṇya-jasô-tivṛidhayê [20] **Udayapurê** kâri-
14 . . . gṛih-ôpêta[ṁ] dêvagṛih-â[vâ]sana-pâṇiya[kô]-
15 . . . lâ[di]-gṛih-ôpêtaṁ saṁgha-[dvau ḥ] 2 tura[gâś=ch=âshtau ḥ]
16 . . . m-ôpôtaṁ śrî-Ûdalêśva(śva)ra-dêvâya sa[têra]m=a-
17 . . . sâ(śâ)naêna pradatta[ṁ] tathâ srê(śrê)shthôda[kuka ḥ]-
18 . . . kôḍâvô 1 ôkâ pradattâ [॥*] Asmat=prada-
19 . . . vaṁsa(śa)jaiḥ pâlanîyaṁ ॥[21] Asy=ârthê [yâ anya-lô ḥ]-
20 . . . maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrî[ḥ*] ॥ [22]

B.—Stone Pillar Inscription of the (Vikrama) year 1222.

This inscription is stated to be on a pillar south of the east entrance of the great temple of the town. It consists of five lines. The writing covers a space of about 1′3″ broad by 6¼″ high, and appears to be well preserved. The size of the letters is between ¾″ and ⅞″. The characters are Nâgarî; the language is Sanskrit; and the whole is in prose.

The inscription records that the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious **Châhaḍa**,[23] apparently for the

---

[9] From the rubbing.

[9] I believe the commencement of this line to have been : *Ôṁ saṁvat* 1220 *varshê Pausha-sudi* 15 *Gurau*. See my introductory remarks.

[10] i. e. *-Anvhilapâṭakê samasta-râjâvali-*.

[11] i. e. *-mahâtrâjâdhirâja-paramêśvar-Ômêpativara-*, or words to the same effect.

[12] One would expect some such phrase as *vikrama-raṇâṅgana-vinirjita-*.

[13] This, *śrîda*, appears to have been the original reading of the stone; but the rubbing looks as if the two akshara had been struck out and as if the preceding *la* had been altered to *lâ*, thus suggesting the reading *-bhûpâl-Avaṁtinâtha-*.

[14] i. e. *-Kumârapâladêva-kalyâna-vijaya-râyê-*.

[15] i. e. *-Yaśôdhavalê śrîvîkharanâdau samasta-mudrâ-vyâpârân-*.

[16] i. e. *-tasmin kâlê pravartamânê mahârâyâdhirâja-*.

[17] Here I should expect some phrase like *nija-pratâp-ôpârjita-*, followed by the name of a district or province, followed again by the word *-maṁdalê-*.

[18] i. e. *likhyatê*; compare *s. p.* Professor Bhandarkar's *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1882-83, p. 223, l. 23.

[19] Here and below the rubbing in certain places is so indistinct that I cannot be absolutely certain about the actual readings.

[20] Read *-puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê*.

[21] Below this, there is one more line of writing which appears to be in a different hand and not to be connected with the preceding.

[22] Châhaḍa appears to be the name of one of Kumârapâladêva's generals; see *ante*, Vol IV. p. 207.

spiritual benefit of his deceased parents,[23] gave half the village of Sâṁgavaṭṭâ in the Bhṛiṁgârî-chatuḥshashṭi, *i. e.* the group of sixty-four villages called Bhṛiṁgârî, (probably to the temple at which the inscription was put up) at Udayapura. And the inscription is chiefly interesting for the statement in lines 1-2, according to which the donation was made on the occasion of the akshaya-tritiyâ, on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of the year 1222, on a Monday.

Referring this date to the Vikrama era, we obtain for Vaiśâkha śukla 3 the following possible equivalents: —

for the northern year 1222 current, in which Vaiśâkha was intercalary,—
for the first Vaiśâkha,—Friday, 27th March, A.D. 1164;
for the second Vaiśâkha,—Sunday, 26th April, A.D. 1164;
for the northern year 1222 expired, or the southern current year,—Thursday, 15th April, A.D. 1165;
for the southern year 1222 expired,—Monday, 4th April, A.D. 1166, when the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

The true date therefore is clearly Monday, 4th April, A.D. 1166, and the result shows that the year 1222 of the date is the southern expired Vikrama year.

The localities Sâṁgavaṭṭâ and Bhṛiṁgârî, the second of which we shall meet again in the inscription C. below, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[24]

1 Oṁ[25] samvat 1222 varshê Vaiśâkha-śudi 3 Sômê ādy=êha Uda-
2 yapurê akshayatṛitiyâ-parvaṇi Avôṁtî-[26][G]ôpâ[la]-[punya ?]-s[au(śau)]-
3 [cha-dharmmâ]ya tha[27]-śrî-Châhaḍêna udaka-pûrvakaṁ śchandra-kâli-
4 kaṁ Bhṛiṁgârî-chatu[ḥ[28]]shashṭhau(shṭau) Sâṁgavaṭṭâ-grâm-ârddhaṁ pradattam ||
5 Yô na pâlayati sa mahâ-paṁchapâpa-bhâgî bhavatu ||

C.—Stone Inscription of Ajayapâladêva.

The (Vikrama) year 1229.

This inscription was found by Dr. F. E. Hall 'in Udayâditya's magnificent temple to Siva,' and was first edited[29] by him in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI. p. 125. According to Dr. Hall, it is on a thick slab of stone, which is detached from its original setting. The lower edge of the stone is broken away or otherwise injured; and, in consequence, line 22 of the inscription, which would seem to have been the concluding line, has almost completely disappeared, and a few *aksharas* are missing towards the end of line 21. Otherwise the writing is well preserved, and, excepting two *aksharas* in line 8, and one each in lines 12 and 21, there is nowhere any doubt about the actual reading of the inscription.

The existing writing covers a space of 1′ 6″ broad by 1′ 1½″ high. The size of the letters is between ¾″ and ¼″. The characters are Nâgarî; the language is Sanskṛit; and, excepting three benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 14-19, the inscription is in prose. The orthography calls for no particular remark; and, as regards grammar in general, it need only be stated here that the word *grâma* has been throughout used as a neuter.

The inscription, after the words 'Oṁ, ôṁ, adoration to Siva,' and a date which will be treated of below, refers itself[30] (in lines 1-5) to the reign of the (Chaulukya) king Ajayapâ-

[23] In the original this passage is doubtful; see below, note 26.
[24] From the rubbing.
[25] Expressed by a symbol.
[26] The whole passage, from here up to *dharmmâya*, is indistinct in the rubbing, and some of the *aksharas* may have to be read differently.
[27] i. e., *thakkura*.
[28] An important correction of the text published by Dr. Hall was first suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, Vol. XI p. 244, note 12.
[29] It may be noticed that in line 1 the words *ādy=êha* 'to-day here, (at Anahilapâtaka)' have been thoughtlessly copied from other Chaulukya grants; for the present grant was made (line 6) at Udayapura.

ladêva of **Aṇahilapâṭaka**, and to the time when **Sômêśvara** was that king's chief minister.[30] At that time (lines 5-11) the illustrious **Lûṇapasâka**, an officer appointed[31] by the king to govern **Udayapura**, which was in the **Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdaśaka** province (*maṇḍalu*), *i.e.* the great group of twelve called Bhâillasvâmin, — a province acquired by the king's own prowess,[32] — on the occasion of the *yugâdi* which coincides with the *akshaya-tṛitîyâ*, gave the village of **Umarathâ**, which was in the *pathaka* called **Bhṛiṁgârikâ-chatuḥshashṭi**, *i. e.* the group of sixty-four villages called Bhṛiṁgârikâ, to the god Vaidyanâtha (Śiva) at the town of **Udayapura**, for the spiritual benefit of the deceased *Râja*, the illustrious Sôḷaṇadêva, a son of the *Râjaputra*, the illustrious Vîlhaṇadêva, of the Mahilaṇândha (?) family.[33] The boundaries of Umarathâ were (lines 12-13), — to the east, the village of **Nâha**; to the south, the village of **Vahiḍâu[ṁṭhâ]**; to the west, the village of **Dâuli**; and to the north, the village of **Lakhaṇaiṇḍâ**. Lines 14-19 contain three benedictive and imprecatory verses, together with an admonition to preserve the above grant. Lines 20-21 state that this donation was received (*upârjitam*; on behalf, as I take it, of the god) by the most pious and highly reverend, the holy Nîlakaṇṭhasvâmin; and the concluding line appears to have contained some imprecation, directed against people who might interfere with the grant.

Since we know from the preceding inscriptions that the town of Udayapura belonged to the kingdom of Aṇhilwâḍ already under Jayasiṁha and Kumârapâladêva, the historical value of the present inscription lies mainly in this, that it furnishes a date, which admits of verification, for the reign of their successor **Ajayapâladêva**.

To my knowledge, two such dates have been hitherto made public. One of them, corresponding according to Mr. Fleet to the 27th (and 29th) October, A.D. 1175, is furnished by the copper-plate grant published above, p. 83. The other occurs in the *Narapatijayacharyâ*, a treatise on omens by Narapati, and is contained in the following verses[34]:—

Vikramârka-gatê kâlê paksh-âgni-bhânu-1232-vatsarê |
mâse Chaitrê sitê pakshê pratipad-Bhaumavâsarê ||
Śrimaty=Aṇahilanagarê khyâtê śrî-Ajayapâla-nṛipa-râjyê |
śrîman-Narapati-kavinâ rachitam=idaṁ śâkunaṁ śâstram ||

i. e., 'this work on omens was completed by the illustrious poet Narapati at the famous town of **Aṇahilapâṭaka**, in the glorious reign of the illustrious king **Ajayapâla**, in the year 1232 of the time of Vikramârka, on the first of the bright half of the month Chaitra, on a Tuesday.' The proper equivalent of this date (for the northern expired Vikrama year 1232, or the southern current year, and for the *mija* Chaitra) is **Tuesday, 25th March, A.D. 1175**, preceding the last-mentioned date by about seven months.

The present inscription, now, in line 1 is **dated**, in figures only, '**in the year 1229, on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, on a Monday**;' and according to line 7 the donation, which the inscription is intended to record, was made for the spiritual benefit of a deceased person (probably the grandfather of the donor) on the occasion of the **yugâdi** which coincides with the **akshaya-tṛitîyâ**. *Akshaya-tṛitîyâ* is the well-known name of the third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, and this same *tithi* is regarded as the commencement of the Kṛita-yuga; and religious ceremonies in honour of the dead are prescribed for the *akshaya-tṛitîyâ* as well as for the *yugâdi*.[35] Referring our date to the Vikrama era, and calculating for Vaiśâkha śukla 3, we find —

for the northern year 1229 current, — Saturday, 10th April, A.D 1171;

---

[30] For the further particulars, see above, p. 84.

[31] The technical expression is *niyukta-daṇḍa*, which occurs again *e. g.* in Professor Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1882-83, p. 223, l. 21, and for which we find *nirûpita-daṇḍa* in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, App., p. 51. Compare with it *niyukta-mahâdâdhaṇika* in line 8 of the inscription A. above.

[32] Considering that Udayapura belonged already to Ajayapâla's predecessors, the above expression can hardly be taken literally.

[33] See below, note 40.

[34] See Professor Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1882-83, p. 220. Attention may be drawn to the fact, mentioned in a preceding verse, that Narapati's father Amradêva lived at Dhârâ in Mâlava.

[35] Compare for this and the following the *Dharmasindhu*, Bo Ed. of Śaka 1796, p. 72

for the northern year 1229 expired, or the southern current year, — Wednesday, 29th March, A D 1172,

for the southern year 1229 expired, — Tuesday, 17th April, A.D. 1173.

In none of the three years did the third *tithi* end on a Monday, but since in the southern expired year 1229 it covered at least part of a Monday, we must for this particular year find the exact beginning and end of the given *tithi*, and must inquire whether there is anything in the nature of the festive days or the religious ceremonies with which the date is connected, that would allow or oblige us to combine the third *tithi* with the Monday on which it commenced.

By Professor Jacobi's Tables the third *tithi* with which we are concerned, commenced 1 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) of Monday, 16th April, A D 1173, and it ended 2 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 17th April, by Professor Kern Lakshman's Tables it commenced 4 *gh* 13 *p*. after mean sunrise (for Bombay) of the Monday, and ended 7 *gh*. 15 *p* after mean sunrise of the Tuesday, and, allowing for any possible differences of time, we may say that the *tithi* certainly had begun at Udaypur before the 8th *ghatikâ* of the Monday and had ended before the 11th *ghatikâ* of the Tuesday Now in regard to a *Yugâdi-srâddha* in the light half of a month, the rule laid down in the *Purushârthachintâmaṇi* and quoted with approval by the author of the *Dharmasindhu* is that, when a *tithi* covers part of two days in such a manner that it ends before the 13th *ghatikâ* after mean sunrise of the second day, while it occupies the 13th, 14th, and 15th *ghatikâs* after mean sunrise or part of those *ghatikâs* of the first day, the śraddha-ceremonies must invariably be performed on the *first* day.[36] This rule is strictly applicable in the present instance, and, in accordance with it, the ceremonies referred to in the inscription, and everything connected with them, had necessarily to be performed on the **Monday**[37] and could not possibly have been deferred to the Tuesday, and the Monday is rightly coupled with the third as a **running tithi**. Accordingly, **Monday, the 16th April, A.D. 1173,** is the true equivalent of the date of our inscription; and the result shows that the year 1229 of the date is the **southern expired** Vikrama year, exactly as was the case with the year in the date of the preceding inscription B.

The third trustworthy date which we have thus found for the reign of Ajayapâladêva, is, then **Monday, 16th April, A D 1173,** civilly the second of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of the southern expired year 1229, or the southern current year 1230, and, if there be any truth in the traditional statement, according to which he began to rule on Pausha-sudi 12 and reigned for three years, **Ajayapâla's accession should have fallen on the 28th December, A.D 1172,** = Pausha sudi 12 of Vikrama 1229 expired, or 1230 current.[38]

As regards the illustrious **Lûṇapasâka,** who made the grant, it is clear that his name is a corrupted form of *Lûṇapasâya*, the regular Prâkṛit equivalent of the Sanskṛit *Lavaṇaprasâda*. Another form of the same name is *Lûṇapasâja*, which occurs in line 13 of the copper-plate grant of the Vikrama year 1317, published *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 210. There Lûṇapasâjadêva is described as *Râṇaka*, and as the grand-father of the person who made the donations recorded in that inscription, and I do not consider it impossible that he may be identical with the Lûṇapa-

[36] The main rule is that, in the light half of the month the *Yugâdi-srâddha* (or *akshayatrîtîyâ-srâddha*) should be performed during the 14th, 14th and 15th *ghatikâs* of the day And accordingly, in the inscriptions B above, where the *tithi* ends 21 h 35 m after sunrise of the second day, it is correctly coupled with the *second* day And the same is the case in a date, quoted *ante* Vol XII p 200 (Saka samvat 1078 , Vaiśâkha śuddha akshayatrîtîyâyâm yugâdi parvvaṇi Bhaumadinê , = Tuesday, 24th April, A D. 1156), where the *tithi* ends 18 h 59 m after sunrise of the second day (the Tuesday) — In the dark half the *Yugâdi śrâddha* should be performed during the 16th, 17th and 18th *ghatikâs* of the day An example for this is furnished by the date, quoted *ante*, Vol XII p 212 (Saka-varsham 1047 Bhâdrapada ba 13 Śukravara mahâtithi yugâdy-ahdu, = 1 inday, 28th August, A D. 1125) where the *tithi* ends 16 h 9 m after sunrise of the second day (the Friday).

[37] As ceremonies performed on the *akshaya-trîtîyâ* are said to be particularly meritorious when the *akshaya-trîtîyâ* is joined with the *nakshatra* Rohiṇî and with a Wednesday, I may add here that on the above Monday the *nakshatra* was Rohiṇî up to about 15 h after sunrise

[38] Professor Bühler informs me that according to the *Vichârate'ni*, Kumârapâla the predecessor of Ajayapâla died Vikrama samvat 1229 Pausha-sudi 12, according to all other Prabandhas Vikrama-samvat 1230, Pausha sudi 12 Mr Kathavate, *Kirtikaumudi* Introduction p xiii, quotes '1232, dvâdaśî Phâlguna sudi,' which must be a misprint for the accession of Ajayapâla, and may rather be the traditional date of his death Dharmadhârana's *Prasadhanaparikshâ*, in Professor Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883 84, p 457, has — 'tataḥ 1230 Ajayapâla-râjyam varsha 3'

sâka of the present inscription, although an interval of 88 years between grandfather and grandson may appear rather long.

Of the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Bhâillasvâmin has been already identified with the modern Bhîlsa,[39] a town on the eastern bank of the Bêtwa river, about 34 miles south of Udaypur. The various villages and the district of Bhṛiṁgârikâ, which is also mentioned in the inscription B., still await identification.

TEXT.[40]

1 Ôṁ[41] ॥ Ôṁ namaḥ Sivâya ॥ Saṁvat 1229 varshê ।[42] Vaiśâkha-sudi 3[43]
Sômê ॥ Ady=êha śr[î]-
2 mad-Aṇahila[pâ][44]takê samastarâjâvalivirâjita-mahârû[jâ]dhirâja-paramêśvara-
3 paramamâhêśvara-śrî-Ajaya[pâ][44]ladêva-kalyâṇavijayarâjyê tatpâdapadm-ôpajîvî(vi)-ma-
4 hâmâtya-śrî-Sômêśvarê śrîśrîkaraṇâdîna samasta-mudrî-vyâpârân paripaṁthayat=i-
5 ty=êvaṁ kâlê pravarttamânê nijaprataṁpôpârjita-śrî-Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdasaka-
[maṁ]-
6 ḍalu-prabhujyamânê[45] ady=êha śrî-Udayapurê têna=aiva prabhuṇâ niyuktadaṁḍa-
śrî-Lûṇapa-
7 sâkôna dhauta-vâsasî paridhâ[ya] parama-dhârmmikêṇa [bhû]tvâ akshayatritîyâ-
yugâdi-
8 parvvaṇi [Mu]hilaû[ndh P][46]ânvayê râjaputra-śrî-Vîlhaṇadêva-putra-paramalôk-
âṁtarita-rá-
9 ja-śrî-Sôlaṇadêva-śrêyasê atratya-dêva-śrî-Vaidyanâthâya Bhṛiṁgârikâ-chatuḥsha-
shṭhi(shṭi)-
10 pathakê paṁchôpachâra-pûjâ-nimittaṁ savṛiksharmâl-ûkulaṁ triṇa-[ja]lâśay-ôpêtaṁ
11 chatur-âghâta-samanvitaṁ Umarathâ-grâmaṁ[47] śâsanêna pradattaṁ ॥ Aghâṭa[48]
[ya]thâ ।
12 Asya grâmasya pûrvvatô Nâha-grâmaṁ dakshiṇatô Vahidâu[ṁṭhâ]-grâmaṁ
paśchimatô
13 Dôuli-grâmaṁ uttaratô Lakhaṇasûdâ-gramam=êvaṁ hi chatuḥkaṁkaṭa-[49]
vi[śu]ddhaṁ grâ[maṁ] [॥*]
14 Va(ba)hubhir[50]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ । yasya yasya yadâ
bhûmis=[ta]-
15 sya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ॥ chha ॥ Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta
vasuṁdharâṁ । shashṭhi(shṭi)-va-
16 rsha-sahasrâṇi amêdhyê jâyatô kṛimiḥ ॥ chha ॥ Mâṁdhâtâ[51] sa-mahîpatiḥ
kṛita-yu-

---

[39] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI. pp. 111 and 127.

[40] From the rubbing.

[41] Expressed by a symbol.

[42] This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and has perhaps been struck out already in the original.

[43] This figure, for 3, is quite clear in the rubbing; but before it, there is a vertical line, evidently a sign of punctuation, which has been prolonged above the top line of the letters; and after the 3, and partly covering it, there is the sign of *visarga*.

[44] Originally *ya*; altered to *pâ*.

[45] I take the meaning to be:—*Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdaśaka-maṇḍalê* (*Lûṇapasâkôna*) *prabhujyamânê śrî-Udayapurê*, *i.e.*, 'at Udaypura, which is in the enjoyment of (or governed by) L., (and is situated) in the Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdaśaka *maṇḍala*.' Compare, *e. g.*, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 210, No 11, l. 8, and Professor Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1882-83, p. 223, l. 21; and, for the similar use of *bhukta*, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 160, l. 9.

[46] I am not certain that the consonants in these brackets are really *ndh*; but the way in which the sign for the vowel *i* is joined to the consonants appears to show that the *akshara* does contain the consonant *dh*.

[47] The word *grâma* is used as a neuter here and below.

[48] One would expect to read *asya grâmasy-âghâṭâ yathâ* । *pûrvatô*, *&c.*

[49] Read *chatush-kaṁkaṭa-*.

[50] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—On this verse see Hall in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXX. p. 203; Bohtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, No. 4831; Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.* p. 225. In our text, the end of the third Pâda, *yâvad-bhavad bhûpatir*, gives no sense; Bohtlingk (who would seem to have missed the meaning of the verse) has *yâvad-bhavân-bhûpatir* instead, Bhandarkar's MS. *yâvad-bhavân bhûpatî*, and Hall *yâvanta ête-âbhavan*.

[51] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh), of this verse and of the next.

17 gê ṣaṁkâra-bhûtô gataḥ sêtur=yêna mahôdadhau virachitaḥ kv=âsau
Ḍa(da)âsy-âṁ-
18 takṛit ¦ anyê ch=âpi Yudhishṭhira-prabhṛitayô yâvad-bha[v]ê bhûpatir=n=
aikêṇ=âpi,
19 samaṁ gatâ ka(va)sumatî manyê tvayâ yâsyati ¦¦ chha ¦¦ Ity-âdi paribhâvya
20 êśasanam=idaṁ pâlanîyam ¦¦ chha ¦¦ Paramanaishṭhika-mahâbhaṭṭâraka-śrî-[N]i-
21 lakaṁṭha[sv]âmina [u]pârjitam=idaṁ ¦¦ chha ¦¦ Yaḥ kaśchid=atra[52] . . . . . rakô
bhavati tê-
22 .[53] . . . . . .

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

No. 31.—THE FOUR GOOD MAXIMS.

First Variant.

In a certain village there lived a poor merchant of the Chetti caste. He had an only son, to whom, on his death-bed, he handed a palm-leaf as his only property. The following four maxims were inscribed on it:—

(1) "Travel not without a living assistant.
(2) "Sleep not in an inn.
(3) "Neglect not what four or five people say.
(4) "Be not always open towards your wife,"

Receiving the leaf containing the four maxims, the old Chetti's son, who had the greatest regard for his father, promised him, in his last moments, that he would observe each and every one of those maxims to its last letter. Then the old man died, and the funeral rites were duly performed over him.

After the death of the old Chetti, the difficulties of his son increased, for he had nothing to live upon. So he resolved to travel to some distant place, and there to earn his livelihood. While he was thinking over this, Sômusetti, — for that was the youth's name, — bethought him of his father's first maxim, — not to travel without a living assistant. But where was he to go for an assistant in his poverty-stricken condition? As he was thinking and worrying over this, a crab happened to crawl slowly past him, and placing a literal interpretation on his father's words, he took hold of the crab, and put it in an earthen pan full of water, and covering the mouth with a cocoanut-shell started on his journey, with his mind at ease; for had he not now a living assistant for his journey?

In this way Sômuśetti travelled for about a day, till only one watch remained before the lord of day should sink out of sight. He was extremely tired, and seeing a fine shady banyan tree, he laid himself down overcome by exhaustion, under the cool shade to sleep and give rest to his wearied limbs. The pan, with the crab in it, he kept by his side.

Half-an-hour or so after Sômuśetti had gone to sleep, a crow, which had its nest on the top of the banyan tree, began to caw. Now this was a very dangerous crow, for as soon as it cawed, a serpent — the incarnation of Death itself — used to come out of an ant-hole near the tree and drink up the life of any sleeper lying in its shadow. Not one sleeper till that day had ever survived his sleep, and so the tree was much dreaded. However, on this occasion, the crab came out of its pan and pinched Sômuśetti's hand, and he suddenly awoke in consequence. Getting up, he saw the huge black serpent coming towards him, and away he ran with all the speed that he could command.

Meeting some neatherd boys not far off, he related to them his narrow escape, and they, with one voice, exclaimed that he was a most fortunate man. Said they: — "Friend, many

[52] Here about five *akshara*s are entirely illegible or altogether gone.

[53] The writing in this line is almost completely gone, and only the tops of a few letters are visible in the rubbing.

a man has slept under that tree, but not one, except yourself, ever rose up alive. It is the most dreaded tree in the neighbourhood, and is known by the name of the **crow-eawing tree.** No one from our villages near ever approaches that tree, but only weary travellers, whom we cannot warn or persuade, for we all try to do so when we can; and whenever they resort to it, they always die. So saying the boys went about their duties, and Sômuséṭṭi, too, thanking his stars and wondering at the wisdom of his father's first maxim, through which alone he had been saved, pursued his course and before twilight reached a village.

He went down the street crying, "Who will feed this beggar with a handful of rice?" Half-a-dozen of the villagers gave him each a handful or two of cooked rice, which served our hero for his simple supper. He then went begging for a lodging wherein to sleep. But though a few would feed him, not a single soul in the whole village would permit him to sleep in his house. Not that the poor villagers were wanting in hospitality, for such kindness has always been proverbial among the rural population of India, specially among Hindus. But unfortunately for Sômuséṭṭi, this particular village was subject to attacks by robbers; and every now and then some crafty robber had visited it as a beggar or a traveller, and requested the villagers for a place to sleep in. Many a time had their hospitality been requited by plunder; for the pretended traveller would open the door of his host to his comrades, and thus help them to do their terrible work. The misery that the villagers had on several occasions experienced, had obliged them, without making any distinction between good and bad, never to allow anyone to sleep in their houses. They all suggested that Sômuséṭṭi should go to the village-inn to sleep. But our hero, remembering his father's **second maxim, — not to sleep in an inn,** — preferred the open plain adjoining the village. Thither he went, and spreading a couple of rags on the ground, prepared himself for sleep, thinking over his father's words which had saved his life the preceding night, and admiring his sagacity.

The day's adventures were so impressed upon his mind that, though he was very weary, he did not for a long time fall asleep. At last nature overcame him and he closed his eyelids, but only for a short repose. For as soon as he had stretched his limbs in sleep, he dreamt that a serpent was pursuing him and was almost at the point of biting him. This dream, which was nothing but a recollection of his previous adventure, was not yet finished, when he imagined that several persons were beating him. This was no dream, but a stern reality; for on opening his eyes, he discovered that he was surrounded by a gang of robbers, each one of whom was giving him a blow, saying:—"Give me what you have in your hand." Unable to bear the severe beating to which he was being subjected he collected the rags spread on the ground, and in a pitiable tone said:—"These are all I have in this world; take them and spare my life." Some of the robbers, a little better-hearted than the others, said that he was a pauper, and that it would be as well for them to leave him alone. Others however gave him additional blows for not having anything of any use with him, and walked off with his rags.[1]

All soon left him and proceeded towards the village. Sômuséṭṭi sat up stupefied, not knowing what to do. He had avoided the village-inn as he had been bidden, and had chosen the most harmless spot he could find, and yet thieves had plundered him of his rags! The danger of the day and horror of the night, not yet over, passed and repassed before his mind, and the more he thought the more stupefied he became. At last, after thinking and thinking for some two or three hours, he rose up from that place, resolving to go to the village-inn, notwithstanding his father's warning words, and spend the remainder of the night there. However, he had not proceeded far when he saw the robbers again. He kept out of their way, and after they had passed, proceeded to the village and to the inn, against entering which his father had so wisely warned him. And the spectacle that met his eyes there! He found the whole village assembled outside the inn, for the robbers had chosen that spot for their havoc that night, and had murdered every soul sleeping in it! Not a soul that had slept there had escaped the cruel hands of the bloodthirsty ruffians, who had come there specially that night because they had heard

[1] A practice very common among the predatory classes in India, who almost always treat their poorer victims in this way.

from one of their spies that a rich traveller was then sojourning there. Sōmuśeṭṭi, who a moment before had been calling himself a fool for not having gone into the public inn for his night's repose, now shed tears of joy to the memory of his father.

By this time it was dawn, and the villagers requested Sōmuśeṭṭi to oblige them by burying the murdered persons. It is loathsome work to bury the unclaimed dead, and our hero would have avoided the task, but the old Chetṭi's third maxim, — "neglect not what four or five people say," — rushed into his mind, and, true to his promise, he willingly consented to perform the disagreeable task. In return, the villagers promised to pay him at the rate of five *fanams* for every dead body interred, and gave him the privilege of taking for his own use any property that he might find on the dead. Our hero thus gained a double advantage; he was obeying his father's third maxim, and he was profiting himself materially by it. His reward was indeed a double one, for though the robbers had plundered all the people in the inn before putting them to death, still a great deal remained on the bodies. One of them, indeed, who had been a Chetti, had in his waist-cloth nine rubies tied up in a rag, and these our hero secretly removed and secured without arousing any suspicions. The great wealth he thus acquired in the remuneration for his duty, made him at once very rich, in addition to the possession of the nine rubies. He thought that he had now enough to live upon, and returned to his own village. Near it there was an old temple of Kāli, in ruins, and to this our hero resorted in the dead of night, and underneath the idol itself buried his nine rubies and a great part of his other treasure. What remained with him was enough for him to lead a respectable life. He took to wife a girl of respectable family, and lived with her for a while in happiness and comfort.

Unlike the usual run of Chettis, who are proverbial for their stinginess, our hero was known in his village for his liberality. And whenever all his available cash was exhausted, he would ask his wife for a little rice for a meal or two, as he was going to a village near, to try and make some more money. Now our hero had never informed his wife where he had buried his treasure, for his father's fourth and last maxim was, "be not always open with your wife." And Sōmuśeṭṭi had benefited so much by the strict observation of the first three maxims, that he had every reason to give more than usual weight to the last one. So he always kept his treasure underneath the image of Kāli a dead secret; but he now and then went to it, in the dead of night, when his cash was exhausted, pretending to be absent from the village, and always returned with enough for his expenses. This he did for a long time, and little by little he bought land, extended his house, and made jewels for his wife. She was a very simple and good-natured woman, but even she began to suspect that her husband must be the master of some miraculous power, to be growing rich in this way. She often asked him how he managed, every time he left the village, to return with so much money. He kept the truth from her for a long time, but she went on worrying him repeatedly. Even iron by constant hammering gives way, and the heart of a man, especially under feminine charms, has much less chance. So, notwithstanding his strict resolution to observe his father's words to their last letter, our hero at last told the whole truth to his wife, warning her at the same time to keep it a dead secret, and never to open her lips to anyone about it. He told her that he had brought with him a great quantity of money and nine rubies, that all the money had been spent, that he had sold one of the rubies for nine *karōṭs* of *mohars*, on which money he was still living, and that when that was gone, he had still eight more rubies, each of which was worth the same enormous sum. How great was his wife's joy when she heard this news from her husband! Her whole face beamed over with it, and she swore to keep the secret. Thus did our hero, for once in his life, notwithstanding his strict resolution to observe his father's maxims, deviate from the last of them, and we shall now see the consequences.

The very next day the mistress of the neighbouring house, paying her usual visit to our hero's wife, observed unusual brightness in her face, and on repeatedly enquiring the cause of it learnt all the secret of Sōmuśeṭṭi's wealth. In fact Sōmuśeṭṭi's wife told all about the rubies, the place where they lay buried, and everything else, to her friend, repeatedly asking her to keep the secret, as of course she swore over and over again to do. The conversation was

very engrossing. The more attentively the neighbour listened, the more excited Sômuśetti's wife became, and went over and over the same facts. Having thus learnt the whole affair, the neighbour took her leave, and naturally the first thing she did was to communicate it to her husband, who in his ambition and covetousness at the increasing prosperity of Sômuśetti, robbed him of the remaining eight rubies that very night.

A day or two passed without our hero knowing of the heavy loss that had befallen him, but, on the third day after the communication of his secret to his wife, Sômuśetti began to be a little uneasy in mind at having disclosed it in spite of his father's strict injunctions, and resolved to go that very night to the temple of Kâlî to examine his treasure. Accordingly he went, without informing his wife about it, and from that moment his happiness left him. When he missed his rubies, he stood like a stone for a while and then went mad.

Plucking wild flowers, making them into wreaths, and adorning his body with them, he began to wander from village to village and from city to city, crying "Give me back my eight rubies," and saying nothing else, no matter what people might say to him. His wife, who knew well enough why the change had come over her husband, cursed herself for her carelessness, and not knowing what else to do, followed her husband, secretly watching him and feeding him. For very shame, she never gave out the reason of her husband's madness, nor mentioned her relationship to him; but as her inward conscience chided her for being the cause of all his grief, she, like a good wife, determined to share his miseries. In this way more than two years passed. And Sômuśetti, among other peculiarities, would never taste a morsel of rice, even when hungry. If rice was placed before him by some one through the kindness of his wife, he would fling it away, muttering, "Give me my eight rubies."

Thus wandering over several countries, our mad hero at last reached a great city, the king of which was famous throughout the country for his liberality to beggars. Never would he taste a handful of rice without feeding them first, and for their special entertainment he had built a large dining-shed, and used to superintend their meals in person. The day on which Sômuśetti joined the beggars of the city at their dinner, the king, as usual, came to watch the feeding. Every beggar was soon engaged at his meal, except our hero, who was almost famished with hunger. A man in his state would naturally go straight for his dish. But Sômuśetti cared for nothing that was placed before him, but kept muttering "Give me back my eight rubies," sometimes to the wall, sometimes to the leaf-plate in front of him, and sometimes to the servants. The king's attention was drawn to this unfortunate beggar, who never even tasted the rice, famished though he was, but kept on talking about rubies instead. He thought that there must be some connection between rubies and his madness, and as he had bought a ruby the previous day from a merchant, he sent for it, in the hope that the beggar might take a little food on seeing it. The ruby was brought and placed before our mad hero, who seized it and said:—"One has come; bring back the other seven." This he kept on saying incessantly. The king now concluded that there was some special reason for his madness, and ordered his servants to watch him carefully, and do their utmost to feed him. He also secretly issued orders to have the merchant who had sold him the ruby the previous day brought to him. Now this man, it must be explained, was no other than the neighbour of Sômuśetti who had stolen the rubies. To avoid all suspicion he had travelled to this distant country to sell his ill-gotten gains, but fearing that a sudden sale of all the rubies might awaken suspicion, he had begun, on the previous day, by selling one only to the king, promising to bring another the next evening. In the evening, according to his promise, he brought the second ruby. The king gladly bought it, and, promising to double the price for a third, demanded it on the third evening. Thus the rubies began to come to him one after another, and every evening, after a purchase, the king returned with it secretly to Sômuśetti, whose madness began to decrease by degrees on the recovery of his lost rubies one by one. The king went on playing the trick of promising double and treble the price, till the last and eighth ruby was bought, and then he at once issued orders to have the merchant arrested and imprisoned till the history of the rubies was known. On the production of the eighth ruby Sômuśetti was entirely

cured of his madness, and falling at the feet of the king related the whole story of the four maxims, how he had disobeyed the last of them and what calamities had come upon him in consequence. The king was highly pleased, and after punishing the pretended merchant with death, he restored, the rubies to their rightful owner, Sōmuśeṭṭi. And our hero, not to be outdone for his liberality, presented half of them to the king who had taken so much pains in bringing him back to his senses, and returned with the other four to his own country.

As soon as he was restored to his original state, he learnt about his wife, how she had guarded and followed him all along throughout his miseries; and forgetting that she was the cause of all of them, he pardoned her faults and lived happily with her. And the good woman too, seeing that all these miseries had resulted from the wealth not being placed in the house, exercised a most scrupulous care over her husband's property, especially remembering the sufferings that both had undergone.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PERPETUAL FIRE IN MADRAS.

Uliyanūr Perinthachan (lit. master-mason) is the legendary celestial architect of the Malabar Coast, and is held to be an incarnation of the Deity The stone lamp at the holy city of Jarunanaya, which remained perpetually burning for several years (there is a similar lamp in Travancore burning in the open air mentioned in *Isis Unveiled*), and the tank at Hanumān Kairi in the Betulnad *ta'luga* of British Malabar, containing 18 *ghats*, but now in ruins, are attributed to him.

Madras. SUNKUNI WARIYAR.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS. By E. H. MAN. London: Harrison and Sons. 1889.

Mr Man's books are always a delight to the student of anthropology, and this last monograph from his pen is no exception to the rule. Minuteness, carefulness, completeness and accuracy have already characterised his work, and all these admirable qualities are as abundantly present in this pamphlet on the Nicobar Islanders as in any of its predecessors We are indeed fortunate in having results before us at first hand of the researches of so painstaking and competent an anthropologist.

At present we have only an instalment of what Mr. Man has to say about the Nicobarese, and the remainder will be looked forward to with some eagerness, especially as the Government is abandoning its stations there, and much more information is not likely to be procured for a long while.

On the vexed question as to the origin of the Nicobarese, Mr. Man decidedly inclines to the Malayo-Burman theory, and gives twelve arguments in its favour.

In stature the Nicobarese are of medium height; very few reaching 6 feet, not many to 5 ft. 7 in., and the majority ranging from 5 ft 5 in. to 5 ft. 3 in. The women are about 3 inches shorter. The average chest measurement is 34½ inches and the average weight about 10 stone; while the women weigh over 8½ stone. Otherwise they are a well-fed and well-developed people of ungainly aspect and devoid of beauty. Their great physical peculiarity lies in their hideous teeth, which are covered with a deforming encrustation caused by chewing betel and lime. Their physical powers are good, but not much developed, and their senses sufficiently acute. But owing to the quantities in which food is supplied by nature they are not given to much or prolonged exertion

The Nicobarese will cross with Malays and Burmans, but not readily with other races. The limits of life are low, but apparently higher than that of Indo-Chinese races generally. They appear to be free from the epidemics of the East, in spite of the miasma that surrounds the dwellings of many of them, proving so fatal to all strangers, and their recuperative powers are like those of many Indo-Chinese races, quite remarkable.

Their colour is decidedly dark but not by any means black, and they are not naturally offensive as to odour. The hair of the head is not black, but a dark rusty brown, and is much lighter in young children than in adults. Hair on the body is not common.

Such in the briefest form possible are the results of Mr Man's investigations, so far as yet published, on this very interesting race. Let us hope that we shall not have to wait very long before we are favoured with a further instalment.

Published by order of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF WESTERN INDIA.

THE CAVE TEMPLES OF INDIA.—By J. FERGUSSON, D.C.L., C.I.E., F.R.S., V.P.R.A.S., & JAS. BURGESS, LL.D., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c. Super-rl. 8vo, mor. gilt. top, pp. xx. and 536, with Map, 99 plates and 76 woodcuts. £2 2s.

REPORTS.—Super-royal 4to, half morocco, gilt tops. By JAS. BURGESS, LL.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., &c.

Vol. I.—Report of the First Season's Operations in the Belgaum and Kalâdgi Districts, 1874. With 56 Photo. and Lithographic Plates and 6 Woodcuts. £2 2s.

Vol. II.—REPORT on the ANTIQUITIES of KATHIAWAD and KACHH, 1874-75,—242 pp., with 74 Photographs and Lithographic Plates. £3 3s.

Vol. III.—REPORT on the ANTIQUITIES of the BIDAR and AURANGABAD DISTRICTS, being the Results of the Third Season's Operations, 1875-76. With 66 photo. and lithographic plates and 9 woodcuts. £2 2s.

BOMBAY: THACKER & Co. Limited.

Vol. IV.—The BUDDHIST CAVES and their Inscriptions, with 60 plates and 25 woodcuts.

Vol. V.—The Caves of Elura and the other Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India, with 51 autotype and other plates, and 18 woodcuts. The two vols. Price £6 6s.

LONDON: TRÜBNER & Co.

NOTES on the BAUDDHA ROCK-TEMPLES of AJANTÂ, their Paintings and Sculptures, &c. by J. Burgess, LL.D. Demy 4to, pp. 112 with 31 plates. Rs. 5.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM the CAVE-TEMPLES of Western India, with descriptive Notes, &c. by J. Burgess, LL.D., and Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indraji. pp. 114, with 52 plates. Rs. 5.

BOMBAY: THACKER & Co. LIMITED.

NOTES on the AMARÂVATI STÛPA, by J. Burgess, LL.D. Demy 4to, pp. 58, with 17 Plates of Inscriptions and Sculptures. (Madras 1882). Rs. 5.

MADRAS: Higginbotham & Co.

BOMBAY: Thacker & Co., Ld.

4to Demy, with Illustrations.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY;

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

In Archæology, Epigraphy, History, Literature, Languages, Folklore, &c. &c.,

Vol. XVIII. begins with Part 217, for Jan. 1889.

VOLS. I. TO XIII.; EDITED BY DR. BURGESS.

A complete set—Vols. I. to XIII. bound in cloth, Rs. 310 (£21) nett. Carriage extra. Apply to Manager, Educ. Soc. Press.

Vols. II. to XIII. in cloth, Rs. 245 (£17) nett and carriage. A few copies only.

Vols. IV. to XIII. in cloth, Rs. 170 (£12) nett and carriage.

Vols. V. to XIII. (9 vols.) in cloth, Rs. 135 (£9 10s.) nett and carriage. Single Volumes Rs. 16 each and carriage.

Vols. I. II. III. and IV. not sold separately and very scarce.

WANTED TO BUY:—Parts Nos. II. and III. of the Indian Antiquary—Rs. 5 offered for each.

VOLS. XIV. AND FOLLOWING; EDITED BY MR. FLEET AND CAPT. TEMPLE.

Vols. XIV. to XVII., not bound, Rs. 20 each including carriage.

BOMBAY: EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.

WORKS BY CAPT. R. C. TEMPLE.

THE LORD'S PRAYER IN THE SOUTH ANDAMANESE LANGUAGE. By E. H. MAN AND R. C. TEMPLE. *Price Rs.* 3-8.

LONDON:—TRÜBNER & Co.

CALCUTTA:—THACKER, SPINK & Co.

THE LEGENDS OF THE PANJAB. In Monthly numbers, from August 1883. Vol. I. bound. *Rs.* 18. Vol. II. bound *Rs.* 15.

LONDON:—TRÜBNER & Co.

BOMBAY:—EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.

Price to Subscribers Rs. 1 *per part of Vol. III. All issued except the final part.*

A DISSERTATION on the PROPER NAMES OF PANJABIS. *Price Rs.* 3.

BOMBAY:—EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.

CALCUTTA:—THACKER, SPINK & Co.

LONDON:—TRÜBNER & Co.

PANJAB NOTES AND QUERIES. A Monthly Periodical, devoted to the systematic collection of authentic notes and scraps of information regarding the country and the people.—Edited by Captain R. C. TEMPLE and Messrs. DAMES and CROOKE. Vol. I., II., III. and IV.

No more issued. Vol. I. is scarce: Vols. III. and IV. have no index.

ALLAHABAD:—PIONEER PRESS.

LONDON:—TRÜBNER & Co.

WIDE-AWAKE STORIES; A Collection of Tales told by little Children between Sunset and Sunrise in the Panjab and Kasmir. By F. A. STEEL and R. C. TEMPLE.

LONDON:—TRÜBNER & Co.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

	Page.	1 col.	½ col.
One insertion.....	Rs. 17-8,	Rs. 9-4,	Rs. 4-12.
Two ,, ...	,, 28-0,	,, 14-8,	,, 7- 4.
Three ,, ...	,, 35-0,	,, 18-8,	,, 9- 8.
Six ,, ...	,, 52-0,	,, 28-0,	,, 15- 0.
Twelve ,, ...	,, 100-0,	,, 52-0,	,, 27- 0.

Short advertisements: 1st insertion 2 as. per line; 2nd and following 1½ as.; 12 insertions in succession Re. 1 per line.

Though the circulation of the *Indian Antiquary* is necessarily limited, its subscribers are almost exclusively such as advertisers generally wish to draw the attention of to their advertisements, and the terms for insertion, given above, are very moderate. Application should be made to the Publisher, Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay. All payments must be made in *advance*.